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## Contents

Present Status and Prospects of Research in Population .....	PHILIP M. HAUSER	371 ✓
Industrial Sociology: Status and Prospects	WILBERT E. MOORE	382 ✓
Discussion .....	ROBERT DUBIN	391
Discussion .....	DELBERT C. MILLER	393
Discussion .....	PAUL MEADOWS	395
Discussion .....	ALVIN W. GOULDNER	396
A New Dimension of Status: I. Development of a Personality Scale .....	HARRISON G. GOUGH	401 ✓
Negro Lifeways in the Rural South: A Typological Approach to Social Differentiation .....	PAUL B. FOREMAN	409 ✓
A Brief Analysis of the Rôle and Status of the Negro in the Hawaiian Community .....	LLOYD L. LEE	419 ✓
Is the American Negro Becoming Lighter? An Analysis of the Sociological and Biological Trends	WILLIAM M. KEPHART	437 ✓
The Relationship of Population Density to Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection .....	JOHN S. ELLSWORTH, JR.	444 ✓
La Paz, Bolivia: Its Population and Growth .....	OLEN E. LEONARD	448 ✓
Can Research in Social Science be Both Socially Useful and Scientifically Meaningful? .....	CLAIRE SELTZ AND STUART W. COOK	454 ✓

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### OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

The 1948 Census of Research Projects ..... 460

### CURRENT ITEMS

Communication and Opinion

Technological Acceleration and Cultural Lag Are  
 Crucial ..... HORNELL HART 487

News and Announcements ..... 489

### BOOK REVIEWS

Sorokin: *The Reconstruction of Humanity*. Harry Elmer  
 Barnes ..... 492

Toynbee: *Civilization on Trial*. Harry Elmer Barnes ..... 492

Lester and Shister: *Insights into Labor Issues*. Wilbert E.  
 Moore ..... 494

Thompson: *Labor Problems in Southeast Asia*. Scott Nearing 495

Newcomb and Hartley: *Readings in Social Psychology*. Ernest  
 Greenwood ..... 496

Murphy: *Personality—A Biosocial Approach to Origins and  
 Structure*. J. F. Brown ..... 497

Bossard: *The Sociology of Child Development*. Ernest B.  
 Harper ..... 499

Merrill: *Social Problems on the Home Front*. James H. S.  
 Bossard ..... 499

Waugh: *The Comics*. Alfred McClung Lee ..... 500

Williams: *The Reduction of Intergroup Tension: A Survey of  
 Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial and Religious  
 Group Relations*. Max Wolff ..... 501

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED ..... 503



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## PRESENT STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH IN POPULATION\*

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*University of Chicago*

IF THIS paper fulfilled the requirements of the assignment made by President Louis Wirth, it would provide a summary of the state of knowledge, substantive and methodological, in the field of population and an evaluation of the field and its prospects. Let me say at the outset that I am sure that this essay does not meet the bill of specifications that the President of the Society hoped it would.

The subject is worthy of a long and intensive period of research, and calls for a scholarly and carefully documented report. I feel it the better course of wisdom to indicate at the beginning what you will discover by yourselves, that for various reasons this paper is an impressionistic, undocumented essay and not a product of research.

I have attempted to deal with my assignment by answering seven questions about the field of population. So that you may anticipate what is to follow, allow me to list these questions at this point:

1. What are the data?
2. What are the methods?
3. What are the theories?
4. What do we know?

5. What are the important frontiers of research?

6. What is the relation of the field of population to population policy and its implementation, and vice versa?

7. What is the outlook for the field?

Let us, at this point, turn to a consideration of the first of these questions.

### WHAT ARE THE DATA?

The population student has worked primarily, although not entirely, with data about human populations. The most commonly used data, what I shall call the "core" data, include: the number of persons; changes in the number of persons; components in the changes in the number of persons—births, deaths, in-migration and out-migration; family formation and its components—marriage, divorce, separation, widowhood; the composition and characteristics of the population.

The demographer's interest in fertility and mortality has led him to study biological and medical aspects of these phenomena, in addition to their social aspects. Interest in mortality, for example, has involved the study of related data, particularly morbidity and various phases of public health. Similarly, interest in fertility has included the study of some aspects of the biology of re-

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production, of methods of contraception, and of the role of public health and other services in maternal and infant welfare.

The student of population has been concerned with the relation of population to its physical habitat and to its social environment, using both the terms physical and social in a broad way. These interests have involved the use of geographical and ecological data and data relating to resources both potential and exploited. They have also involved the use of cultural, institutional, economic, political, historical, psychological, and anthropological data.

Another field of interest for the population student is to be found in problems relating to the quality of population. This interest has led him to work with the data of genetics—and in recent years with the specialized data of human genetics as contrasted with genetics in general. It has also led him to deal with cultural and social differentials, with problems of social stratification and differential opportunity which has necessitated deep bites into the general field of sociology.

Finally, the population student has also been interested in population policy and action on a local, national and international level and in the effects of policy and its implementation on population phenomena. As scientists, the interest of demographers in policy and its consequences is, of course, an interest in these matters as data for research.

Merely to list the wide variety of all of the specific data used by the population student is beyond the scope of this paper, and would not be too profitable. I shall limit myself, therefore, to some brief reflections about problems relating to the sources, availability and quality of the data used at the "core," rather than on what are now the peripheral margins of population study. That is, I shall deal mainly with the data about human populations themselves, on a social-cultural rather than on the biological-medical or other natural science orientated level. (This is not to say that these "peripheral areas" are unimportant or less important than the "core" areas. Rather, it is to recognize that the interest of this audience is primarily in the social-cultural aspects of the

problem.) Moreover, although I shall not exclude other regions of the world, I shall, for purposes of convenience, and focus, deal primarily with the situation in the United States.

In general, we are dependent for our "core" data on four basic sources of information: first, a population census, whether on a complete or sample basis; second, a vital records system; third, a registration system, whether permanent or temporary, to meet emergency requirements; and fourth, a flow of by-product statistics emanating from government or non-government administrative agencies. In this country and in the Western world in general, reasonably adequate data have been available from one or more of these sources from, roughly, the beginning of the 19th Century. In contrast, very limited or no basic data of these types are available for the preponderant majority of the world's population, even at this time.

Moreover, the data are by no means available in the quantity or quality desired even in the Western countries or in the United States. In fact, it may be said with reasonable accuracy that the basic sources of even "core" population data are still in an infant and developmental state. In the United States, for example, although we have had a decennial census from the founding of the Nation, there has been a considerable pressure for institution of a quinquennial census. Moreover, as a result of recent developments which have greatly increased the efficiency of sampling human populations, there is some prospect that we shall have annual, or even more frequent, general population data available through sampling surveys. Some very important types of population data are, indeed, now available through sampling for the Nation as a whole, including data on the labor force, which are made available monthly.

With respect to our vital records system, it must be remembered that it is little more than a decade since all states of the Union have qualified for admission to the birth and death registration system. It should also be recognized that we have not yet achieved a flow of national marriage or divorce statistics.

Although registration systems have provided important data for the population student for many decades in some Western countries, for example Sweden and Holland, only limited data have been available from this source in the United States. Such data as have become available from general population registrations have flowed entirely from temporary and emergency registrations of the population incident to mobilization for the past war or earlier conflicts, and have been highly restricted in character.

Finally, with the expansion of government functions necessitated by our complex industrial and urban life, there is becoming available in this country, as in the case of most Western nations, a body of data which will have increasing importance to the population student (particularly the data from the types of agencies which now comprise the Federal Security Administration, from the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, from the Internal Revenue Bureau, etc.).

The data which have been made available to the student of population from Census sources have become increasingly enriched in scope, detail, and cross-classification. Of particular importance has been the availability of data in a form which permits the correlation of fertility and mortality phenomena with social and economic characteristics of the population. Similarly, the data which have become available from the vital records system, in addition to embracing the entire Nation, have become more useful as greater attention in tabulation has been devoted to research interests. The tabulations made available by place of residence as well as place of occurrence, the adoption of an urban-rural classification system identical with that employed in the population census, and the greater detail in cross-classifications of births and deaths in relation to characteristics of the mother or the decedent are among the things which have made it possible to extend the frontiers of knowledge about these vital phenomena.

The statistics which have flowed from temporary registration systems such as those connected with the registrations for rationing, the registration of aliens, and the registra-

tion for selective service have been particularly important in providing current, even if limited, information for a period of great unsettlement and change. They should contribute materially to the analysis of the impact of the war on vital phenomena in the United States and in other nations, in which the data have been preserved.

The information available as by-products of government administration has perhaps been the least exploited of the data used by the population student. As larger proportions of the population are covered by social security provisions in this country, and to the extent that increasing government interventionism is necessitated by an increasingly complex and interdependent existence, these data may well assume a greater importance for population research purposes.

In respect to these four basic sources of "core" population data, a few brief evaluative observations seem in order.

In respect to population census, it is to be hoped that greater attention will be focused in the future to three basic needs of the population student as regards these data: first, improvement in the quality of the data; second, more frequent reporting; third, an increase in the cross-tabulations of data that have significance for research. In all these respects, the Bureau of the Census in this country has already made great strides forward. It is important, however, to support the Bureau in its efforts in these regards and to maintain close contact so as to assure the continued orientation of the Bureau to research needs. All three of these basic objectives, it should be noted, can be materially advanced through the utilization of the sampling techniques in the development of which the Census Bureau itself has pioneered, and to which it has contributed materially.

In the field of vital statistics the greatest need without question is the need for improving the completeness of birth and death registration. There is also need for greater detail in the cross-classification of birth and death tabulations which, in their present form, although valuable, obscure many important relationships. There is particularly need for the introduction of such items as

duration of marriage, parity, characteristics of the father and indexes of social-economic and cultural level as basic controls in the tabulation of births. Similarly there is need for the introduction of various indexes of social-economic and cultural status and of occupation in the tabulation of deaths. Perhaps the most conspicuous need in this area, however, lies in the need for comprehensive coverage in marriage and divorce statistics. I am sure that it seems curious to more than population students that this Nation, which can afford so many things, cannot afford the expenditure required to have these basic data about family formation and disintegration. The achievement of these objectives can in considerable measure also be accelerated and made more efficient by the utilization of sampling techniques. The officials of the National Office of Vital Statistics of the U. S. Public Health Service are not unmindful of these needs, but they also will need support and encouragement if progress is to be made.

There are centers of pressure in this country for the creation of a registration system which would provide "linkage" of all basic vital records. Although valuable information could be obtained from such a system or from a comprehensive and continuing population register, it would hardly be good judgment for the population student to urge the creation of such a register merely to supply him with research data. Although this source of data will undoubtedly continue to be important in some countries and increase in importance in others, I do not think that it will be an important source of data in this country in the foreseeable future, short of a prolonged period of great tension, open internal disorder, or international conflict. I think it correct to say that a population register on a continuing basis is, at this time, regarded as incompatible with our political concepts of individual freedom and democracy.

It is difficult to point to any systematic set of needs in the field of administrative statistics. The data available from this source are necessarily by-products and as by-products, they are determined by administrative rather than research requirements. In gen-

eral, however, it is clear that data flowing from administrative sources will become increasingly important to the population student, and that there is much to be gained by maintaining close contact with those agencies which can contribute materially to the population field.

For data in what I have referred to as "peripheral" fields of population study, the population student has been in a major way dependent on the products of research of scholars in other disciplines. Many important bodies of data have been developed in these areas of interest, as for example—in human geography, in human genetics and in public health. But for population research many deficiencies are to be found in the "peripheral" data available, and great gaps in even elementary information of this type exist for large portions of the world.

#### WHAT ARE THE METHODS?

The methods of the population student are primarily quantitative in character, although they involve a variety of non-quantitative methods and will probably increasingly utilize experimental methods. Most of the research which has been conducted in the field of population has resulted in quantitative descriptive materials, in which relatively simple statistical methods such as percentage distributions, proportions, and rates have been utilized. Since fertility, mortality and other vital phenomena are greatly affected by the structure of a population, particularly by its age and sex composition, methodological developments have taken the direction of producing measurements which in a scientific sense permit control of these variant structural characteristics. Thus, to control the age and sex composition of a population so as to study, let us say the impact of economic or cultural factors on fertility and mortality, various methods of standardization have been devised to reveal differentials which crude rates tend to distort or to obscure.

In the computation of the various vital rates, the conventional measurements are in a sense substitute measurements for those actually desired. They are in the main com-



promise measurements—the best the character of the data permit. Thus, although true *a posteriori* probability statements are the desiderata in measuring fertility, mortality, marriage, divorce, and other vital phenomena, few of the rates that can be computed from the available data can actually be described as probability statements. Problems of under-registration and of under-enumeration, problems arising from the lack of current population information, and, usually, the complete absence of information about internal migration tend to make the numerators and denominators of vital statistics rates approximations to the actual measurements desired. In consequence, a considerable portion of the research energy of population students has been devoted to devising methods of “correcting,” “adjusting,” or “refining” the data so as to improve the quality and precision of the measurements used.

The lack of inter-censal and post-censal population figures has resulted in the development of methods of estimating populations which, although they vary widely in ingenuity, have in common potentially large and unmeasurable error. In consequence, it is possible to say that no adequate methods have yet appeared which permit inter-censal or post-censal population estimates with measurable accuracy, particularly for areas subject to migratory change, short of a complete or adequate sample census.

Perhaps the most interesting and most powerful of the methods developed by the population student are to be found in the series of measurements which reveal the “true” or “intrinsic” vital rates of a population, as contrasted with the actual rates at any given time of observation. The development of the concepts of gross and net reproduction, of the life table and its utilization as a stationary population, and the concept of the stable population must certainly be regarded as among the more ingenious examples of the quantification of complex phenomena by the social scientist.

Other important methodological developments lie in the “projection” of populations, which under stipulated assumptions, tell us

what the numbers and composition of future populations would be. There is still considerable confusion, sometimes even among demographers, about the meaning and usefulness of such projections which are all too frequently confused with predictions. In the hands of the skillful student, however, the projections can be useful and have great significance, in providing knowledge about, and showing the policy implications of, population trends.

Another line of development, which has not been highly productive as yet, lies in the application of mathematics, as distinct from statistics, to population phenomena. Although some light has certainly been thrown on some types of phenomena through the use of rational mathematical methods, the most widely known of which is undoubtedly the logistic curve, the value of a pure mathematical approach to population phenomena has yet to be demonstrated.

Although they have much broader applicability, in any listing of the methods of population research, it would be a serious oversight not to mention sampling methods. Development of efficient procedures for sampling human populations has greatly extended the possibility of obtaining basic “core” population and vital statistics with precision and timeliness. Moreover these methods have greatly increased the feasibility of intensive investigations to get at psychological and cultural factors in population dynamics.

The field of population is on the whole in good shape as regards methodology. The methods available to the research student are, in fact, superior to the data with which he must work; and more than a small portion of the methods available have been devised to deal with inadequate data. (I should mention a remark that I heard Gunnar Myrdal make after he heard an impressive paper on population methodology, in which indirect methods for computing gross and net reproduction rates were described. He observed that he was very much impressed with the ingenuity of the methods which were undoubtedly useful in the United States. But he added that those methods were not needed in Sweden where adequate data made



simpler methods possible to achieve the same results.)

The deficiencies in the methodology available to the population student are deficiencies which are not peculiar to the field of demography. The relatively recent attention devoted to psychological and social-psychological aspects of population dynamics has made it clear that the population student, like his colleagues in the other social sciences, is dependent on the development of better psychometric and other techniques designed to get at basic attitudes and motivation in human behavior. Similarly attempts to deal with problems of optimum population or, potentially more profitable, with the relationship of population to resources have pointed up the need for better measurements of the aggregate production and components of production of the various nations and areas of the world. In this field, the demographer will undoubtedly continue to be dependent on the developments in other disciplines such as econometrics. Similarly, in other areas in which the interests of the demographer merge with the interests of other disciplines the population student will, in the main, continue to remain dependent on other scholars for methodological advances.

#### WHAT ARE THE THEORIES?

I think it is not a gross inaccuracy to say that if it were possible to compute a ratio of theory to data, the field of population would stand very low in an ordering of the sciences with respect to this criterion. I am not sure how the optimum ratio in this regard would be defined, but the limits can be rather easily described and I think agreed upon. A field which contained only theory and no data would not be described as a scientific discipline; a field which contained only data and no theory would, similarly, not merit the appellation of science. The field of population is without question closer to the latter limit than to the former. Moreover, to the extent that theory does exist in the field, it is not too difficult to show that the theory has, on the whole, evolved independently of the data.

There are a number of ways of categorizing the population theories which can be found in the literature. Perhaps the most useful classification lies in the distinction between the "naturalistic" and "institutional" theories.

The classic example of the naturalistic theoretical approach is to be found, of course, in Malthus, although he was by no means the only or the first student to present a comprehensive and embracing theory of population in terms of fundamental natural laws. The classic example of the institutional approach to population theory is to be found in Marx, although here again, Marx was by no means the only or the first student to utilize a cultural or institutional framework in an effort to explain population phenomena. It is worth observing that in the case of both Malthus and Marx the development of population theory as such was, on the whole, incidental to other and more central objectives.

An interesting and more recent variant to the naturalistic approach is afforded by the attempts of some students to describe population phenomena in terms of mathematical "laws" with the implication that the ordering of population phenomena are functions of parameters which at least implicitly reflect fundamental laws of nature. (This interpretation of the mathematical approach to population phenomena is not to be confused with the utilization of mathematics or statistics for purposes of obtaining a more precise description of phenomena.)

The development of population theory has in the main been the work of economists, although the members of this discipline, on the whole, have paid little attention to the field of population for some years. It is difficult, indeed, to say just what the economist's theory with respect to population is at the present time. It seems, on the whole, to be an uncritical adaptation of the Malthusian doctrine at those points where population as an element in the economy cannot be completely disregarded. On the whole, the population problem in economic theory has for some decades been almost completely ignored, although recent developments in

"Keynesian" economics point to a revival of interest in the field.

Moreover, the sociologists, who seem to have inherited the field of population by default, have as yet contributed nothing of consequence to the development of systematic and comprehensive theory in this field. The major contribution of the sociologist to population theory to date is an indirect one, and consists largely in placing emphasis on cultural and institutional factors as opposed to biological and genetic factors in dealing with the problem of quality in population. Another area of theoretical development, which I believe promises much, but has not as yet been integrated into population research, is the development of ecological theory.

Various specific theories or hypotheses in segmental areas of the field of population could be enumerated which have had their origin not only among demographers but, also, in the work of biologists, geneticists, mathematicians and others. These theories are in the main narrow in scope, discrete, and not integrated into any uniform framework for dealing with population, either in its structural or dynamic aspects.

There is a basic need, in my judgment, for the development of a framework of integrated theory in the field of population. This is not to say that time or energy should be wasted in looking for a comprehensive general law of population growth along the lines of earlier efforts. On the contrary, it is undoubtedly sounder scientific procedure to assume that there is no single general law to explain complex population phenomena. It will undoubtedly be much more productive to think in terms of variant matrices for alternative patterns of population dynamics. But the denial of the existence of an overall general law of population growth or the decision to assume that there is no such law for research purposes does not negate the need for theory in population research. There is still too much of a tendency among population students to produce discrete, descriptive studies with little or no attention to theoretical framework as a basis for their research orientation or for the formulation of their conclusions.

Perhaps it is just as well that up to this point, while the data have been accumulating, there have been few attempts to develop comprehensive population theory. It would seem, however, that we know enough, or we are on the verge of knowing enough about population phenomena so that the time has come to direct our energies to the development of new theory and to the better integration of theory and data.

#### WHAT DO WE KNOW?

Despite the deficiencies and gaps in data, the absence of comprehensive and integrated theory, the relatively limited facilities for research and the small body of research students with a major interest in population, the population student has amassed a large and significant body of substantive information. Although we are still woefully ignorant about even the size, let alone the composition and dynamics, of most of the populations of the world, we do know a great deal about population numbers, change, components of change, trends and prospects of population in the Western world and in substantial portions of the remainder of the globe.

We have also learned a great deal about the relation of population to resources, about the effect of swings in the business cycle which characterizes our industrial order on short and long run population phenomena, about the effects of war on population. Conversely, we have learned something about the effects of population phenomena on our economy, on our social and political organization, and on international relations and conflict, although in these areas our knowledge is certainly limited and the surface has just begun to be scratched.

Within and among given populations, we have amassed a wealth of information on differential fertility and mortality, and somewhat less on migration. We have certainly reasonably adequately described the significant differentials which are to be found in vital phenomena among the various strata of a society, among the regions of a nation, and among the nations of the world. Similarly, we have traced the relation between

divergent forms of social and economic organization, exemplified by urban and rural cultures and by industrial and agricultural economies, and various population phenomena. We have learned some limited things about human genetics.

We have learned much about the characteristics of major segments of the population on which for one reason or other, special attention has been focused. For example, we have discovered much, that was only recently unknown, about the labor force as an important segment of the total population, about its structure and its dynamics in relation to the total population of which it is a part. Similarly, we have learned much about the special characteristics of our "senior" citizens and of youth.

We have learned and demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt the impotence and limitations of the Malthusian devil. In fact, we are coming to realize, albeit painfully and slowly, that in the complex industrial and urban civilization which we have created, new population devils are emerging of a type never anticipated by Malthus and if anything, more troublesome than that described by Malthus.

This is not the place even to list all of the types of things we know about population, but we have learned at least three types of things about population which, in my judgment, deserve singling out as having profound implications, not only from the standpoint of research interest, but also from the standpoint of their significance to society.

First, I refer to what we have learned about the intrinsic fertility, mortality and natural increase rates of the populations of the Western world. We know that the culture complex we call Western civilization has had a significant effect on the reproductive behavior of Western populations—that the net impact of the elements of our civilization on our fertility and mortality schedules has been so to depress reproductivity that, despite the great declines in mortality, our populations either now, or in the near future, face the prospect of falling short—far short of replacement. This discovery constitutes perhaps the most important single datum made available by the student of pop-

ulation to the world since the days of Malthus. It is, indeed, so startling a discovery that the fact has not only not yet penetrated the consciousness of the masses of peoples in the Western world and particularly in the United States, but I think it can be said with some justification, that its significance has hardly penetrated the consciousness of even population students themselves.

The second fundamental datum to which I refer, the full import of which has similarly not yet been grasped by our society, is that which we euphemistically refer to as differential fertility and differential mortality. In my judgment, there are no comparable data in the entire substantive firmament of the social sciences which tell us so much and so efficiently about the great differentials in level of living and in opportunity, as do the short tables which reveal the high inverse correlations between fertility and mortality and almost any measures you wish to choose of social or economic stratification. Moreover, these data tell an eloquent story about the quality of our contemporary and prospective populations, the significance of which far transcends the story of the eugenicists which, for easily understood reasons, has received much more attention.

Third, and of the greatest significance from the standpoint of the international order, the population student, albeit crudely and with many gaps, has traced the impact of what we call the industrial revolution on population phenomena as we have experienced it in the Western world. It does not take an unusually fertile imagination to see the implications of this story for those areas of the globe which contain most of the world's present inhabitants, as they increasingly also undergo similar or comparable economic and social development.

I shall have more to say about this fundamental knowledge which has resulted from the labors of the population student as I discuss the relation of population research to population policy and its implementation.

#### WHAT ARE THE IMPORTANT FRONTIERS OF RESEARCH?

The field of population, more so than some other social science disciplines, is ripe for

great advances in research. The data which have been amassed to date, and the knowledge we have gained from them, point to the avenues and frontiers of research in almost dramatic fashion.

For example, we have reasonably fully described patterns of differential fertility and mortality both within and among populations; we are able to describe present and intrinsic population rates; we are able to describe the impact of industrialization and urbanization on population; but we know relatively little about actual causal relationships, sequences of behavior, basic attitudes, and human motivations that enter into the patterns we can describe in relatively precise quantitative terms. One badly needed and important type of research activity in this area is that which would explore specific problems of the acceptability and utilization of contraception and other means of voluntary population control. Although this subject is but one of a number of possible social psychological studies, it has such special significance for contemporary and prospective problems relating to population that it seems to me to be worthy of specific recognition here.

To my mind, one of the most important of the frontiers of research in population is to be found in the relatively unexplored social psychological and cultural factors as they are causally related to population phenomena, particularly to fertility and to migration. New vistas of research opportunity lie in these fields which few students to date have examined or explored. Research in this area is relatively difficult. It will take much more ingenuity, require improved and new methodologies and, for some time to come, will probably not result in the neat, quantitative formulations which, in the main, characterize other areas of population research. This is the frontier where population comes into contact with psychology, social-psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Research in this area will require laborious inter-disciplinary and cooperative endeavor; but it will be worth the effort.

Another important area for further research, of the type which has recently been pursued both here and abroad, lies in the

introduction of further "controls" in the analysis of vital statistics rates. There is a need for supplementing the more conventional controls, namely age and sex structure and sometimes other characteristics, with additional controls closely associated with population phenomena, such as duration of marriage, parity, characteristics of the father, and indexes of social and economic status in studies of fertility; and similarly appropriate characteristics in studies of mortality, and migration. The utilization of such additional controls in the computation and analysis of vital statistics rates would not only throw additional light on the influence of these factors themselves, but, what is more important, would also make it possible to determine with greater precision the impact on population phenomena of "external" factors, namely cultural and other environmental factors.

The introduction of additional controls in the analysis of vital statistics would probably help, also, to clear an area of confusion, not only in the public mind but among demographers themselves. Even the professional student of population seems to have difficulty in distinguishing between cyclical and secular movements in population phenomena as even a cursory examination of the current literature reveals. The wide availability of rates in which the items proposed, among others, were controlled would, I am convinced, help to unscramble cyclical and secular movements and to dissipate at least some of the prevalent confusion.

An important area of research also lies in the more intensive analysis of the labor force in a demographic framework and in relation to general social and economic structure and process. The new data which have recently become available in this country about the labor force indicate that the population student has much to contribute to a better understanding of both the statics and the dynamics of the labor force, and to the exploration of areas which, in the main, have been overlooked by the economists, sociologists, and other social scientists.

Another difficult but promising field of research opportunity lies in more intensive and extended investigations of the relationship between population phenomena and so-



cial and economic structure and process. Only the surface of this problem has been scratched by the relatively fragmentary and crude studies of this type now available. A particularly important aspect of this problem, and one of the most promising from the standpoint of rewards for research, undoubtedly lies in the study of population phenomena on a regional, national and international level in relation to international social and economic structure and process.

Perhaps the most significant area of research which lies ahead, significant not only from the standpoint of providing knowledge for its own sake, but also in providing a firm foundation for critical policy decisions which must be made is research directed at providing an answer to the question: How can the areas of the world containing large and impoverished masses of people and constituting over half of the world's total population be subjected to the influences of industrialization and urbanization or comparable advances in agricultural technology without producing population consequences which would completely negate advances in productivity and potentially create serious international confusion or chaos?

This single question embraces many diverse considerations including present and potential relationships between the distribution of the world's population and the world's resources, the patterns of population change which have been experienced in the Western world under the impact of the Industrial Revolution, present and potential patterns of international power relationships, the balance of power among the diverse races of the world, and the general problem of maintaining international order and peace.

Some of the types of research proposed above would help to answer this question. But more frontal attacks are required, particularly on the central problem of whether it is possible for a pre-industrial or primitive culture to receive the benefits of "modern civilization" without producing the cycle of population change experienced by the Western world. More specifically, the question can be stated as to whether it is possible to accelerate the control of fertility so as to cut

down the gap experienced in the Western world between decreasing mortality and the decline in the birth rate.

These are critically important questions because it seems clear that the repetition of the experience of the Western world among the great population masses in the East would not only constitute a serious threat to the standard of living of Eastern peoples, but may also conceivably, in light of the present distribution of world resources in relation to population, create literally terrific tensions and prospects of unparalleled international hostility and conflict.

In this area of research, I believe the population student has a great opportunity to make one of the most significant contributions that social science can make to the advancement of the standards of living of the peoples of the world, and to the maintenance of international order and peace. It is a type of contribution of peculiar significance at this stage in human history when the physical sciences, far ahead of the social sciences in their contribution, have made it possible for human beings literally to destroy their civilizations and themselves, unless sound knowledge is available as a basis for social action and great wisdom is exercised in the utilization of such knowledge.

Finally, to conclude this brief and by no means inclusive or exhaustive listing of even the important areas of population research, I should like to mention a field not unrelated to the broad area I have just outlined. I refer to the study of population policy and its implementation as an area which needs more intensive cultivation than it has yet received. Here, also, the research task is relatively difficult but the yield should be great. This consideration naturally leads to an examination of the next of the questions which I have raised, that is:

#### WHAT IS THE RELATION OF THE FIELD OF POPULATION TO POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION?

Population policy and government action directed at the implementation of policy preceded population research and the development of a science of demography. Popula-



tion policies and related legislative and administrative decrees can be found, beginning with the records of antiquity, throughout the history of man. Indeed, one is impressed as one reads the record with the repetitive nature of some population policies and actions through the ages, despite their obvious impotence from epoch to epoch. Population policy in the past, and with rare exceptions even in the present, has been, or is being, determined, in the main, independently of a body of knowledge about population phenomena.

In the more remote past, officials of government and other social engineers did not have a sound factual basis for policy determination and governmental action. In the more recent past, however, and at the present time, despite the lacunae in substantive information, there is much more knowledge available than our social engineers—our political leaders, our educators, our clergy, etc.—have either discovered or seen fit to use. But the field of population is not unique in this respect. This same pattern can be observed in the social sciences in general. We have a long way to go in acquiring all of the knowledge and wisdom which is needed as a sound basis for policy and action, but it is indisputable that we already know a great deal more than our society has the intelligence or mechanism to use.

The demographer, like other social scientists, should not, as a scientist, be concerned with the political process and with the solution of problems of the day except as they constitute data for research. The demographer, like other social scientists, however, has been so careful in his efforts to avoid identification with specific political positions or social movements that he has often completely ignored the consideration of such problems even for purposes of research. This, to my mind, is unfortunate because it has undoubtedly contributed to the hiatus between what is known and what is done.

A specific answer to the question of what is the relation between the science of demography and policy and its implementation is, with few exceptions, correctly stated as "very little." The point which I wish to make and

emphasize about this relationship is that the population student is failing to perform what seems to me to be an important obligation and missing a great research opportunity in neglecting population policy and mechanisms of implementing policy, particularly in a democratic society, as an important area of research.

The obligations and opportunities of the demographer in this area of activity have become increasingly great with the development of post-war international organization. In the United Nations and the specialized international agencies, there are a number of places in which the demographer can make signal contributions in providing badly needed knowledge as a basis for international and national policy considerations. Special recognition of the international importance of population problems is afforded by the creation of a Population Commission by the Economic and Social Council and the provision for a Population Division in the Secretariat of the United Nations.

Although this may be beside the point for purposes of our present discussion, I am convinced that if competent and adequate knowledge including information about population policies and their efficacy were available, the products of the labors of population students could and would contribute a great deal more to social and human welfare than is now the case.

#### WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FIELD?

You will note that I have deliberately avoided discussing the question of what is the field of population or demography. I see little point in engaging in polemics about the precise boundary lines of this or other specialized scholarly pursuits.

Suffice it to say that population as a field is characterized by the research participation of students of a number of disciplines, including economists, sociologists, medical men, public health specialists, biologists, geneticists, geographers, statisticians, actuaries, and even physicists. The data of population as a field, as has been indicated, are also drawn from a wide number of areas identifiable as separate scientific disciplines in both

the natural and social sciences or as arts and professions.

The research interests of the student of population, thus, cut across the interests of the conventionally organized social and natural science disciplines; and the field of population as a field for research is a kind of melting pot for a variety of scientists, on the one hand, and engineers or practitioners on the other. As a focal area for the intermingling of diverse interests the field of population affords a relatively unique opportunity for the cross-fertilization of theory and methods and for the pursuit of interdisciplinary researches.

History has amply demonstrated that it is on the frontiers of adjoining cultures that the greatest rates of cultural change and development have occurred. Similarly, it has been on the frontiers of the scientific disciplines that many of the great advances in knowledge and method have occurred.

A justifiable criticism of the social sciences in general may lie in their overspecialization, in their adherence to strict boundaries of substantive knowledge and methodology, and in their failure to achieve more effective ways and means of cooperative and complemen-

tary endeavor in common areas of interest. In my judgment, the greatest areas of advance in social science in the coming decades will be in those areas where the interests of the various disciplines in the social sciences merge and where inter-disciplinary teamwork characterizes research activity.

Population may be described as a social science research area of this type. The number of students in the various disciplines who have a major interest in the field of population is relatively small. But I think it would be agreed that demographers are a reasonably alert, enthusiastic and active group. To my mind the outlook for the field of population is in most respects an exceedingly favorable one. It is particularly a favorable outlook from the standpoint of opportunity for research, opportunity for opening new frontiers of knowledge and method, and opportunity for contributing badly needed information to guide our policy makers and social engineers. In a word, the outlook for the field of population is good because there is much work and important work to be done and there are competent students who seem willing to do it.

## INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY: STATUS AND PROSPECTS\*

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**S**OCIOLOGICAL interest in studies that now may be roughly classified as aspects of industrial sociology antedated by many years the more or less official recognition of

\*An abbreviated and slightly modified version of a paper presented to the American Sociological Society, New York, December 28-30, 1947.

†No attempt is made in this paper to "review the literature" in any systematic way. For the most part references are kept to the minimum requisite for illustrative purposes, and preference is given to the more recent developments. Extensive references are given by chapter in Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946).

Many of the writer's critical comments on the field have already been expressed in "Current Issues in Industrial Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, XII (December, 1947), 651-657.

the field or the application of a distinct label to it. Yet it remains true that among sociologists both the popular interest and many phases of the actual research are of fairly recent vintage. This circumstance seems to be due in part to an acceptance of a convention that would limit sociology to those empirical areas not treated in the "more specialized" disciplines. As a consequence, slight attention has been paid to property systems, the institutions regulating markets and exchange, or the social organization of production because these subjects were in some obscure way supposed to be within the province of economics.

Although the productive organization has elements of sociological relevance, the field of

industrial sociology is not differentiated from the main body of sociology on the basis of analytical specialization. Like the study of the family, the rural community, religion, or the criminal group, the sociological study of industry is merely a field of empirical focus. It does not have a special conceptual scheme or mode of abstraction, as represented, for example, by Znaniecki's social actions, social relations, social persons, and social groups.<sup>1</sup> Any or all of these approaches may be used for the sociological study of industrial phenomena. If the study has any significance for the general body of sociological principles, it will be sociology before it is "industrial."

The field of industrial sociology then is concerned with the application or development of principles of sociology relevant to the industrial mode of production and the industrial way of life. This definition does not bar the possibility of special principles to the extent that the relevant empirical phenomena in this area are distinct from those in other areas of human behavior. However, an excessive particularity of research in time and space may reduce or obscure the significance of the results, and cast doubt on their predictive value under conditions whose relevance has not been investigated.

If these general and somewhat elementary considerations have merit, they provide an initial basis for judging some of the implicit and explicit limitations of the specialty as espoused by some of its practitioners. To define industrial sociology as "first-hand observation in industry," or "study of lines of communication," or "study of the skills of cooperation" is at best to indulge a whim, at worst to indulge a delusion. A statistical study of the social correlates of absenteeism, an investigation of the modes of recruiting the industrial labor force in the Soviet Union, an experimental inquiry into the social factors in labor productivity in the factories of India—these are certainly concerned with aspects of industrial sociology.

It is not suggested that researchers who are concerned with industrial sociology should severally do everything; rather, it is suggested that the empirical field is sufficiently inclusive, and the gaps in knowledge at various levels of generality sufficiently numerous, to provide manifold opportunities for specialization, which would be discouraged by a stereotypical acceptance of some of the more parochial views.

In the critical summary that follows, an attempt has been made to deal with the major conceptual orientations in the field, that is, the criteria of relevance implicit in the several ways of approaching the sociological study of industrial phenomena. Since research techniques have no merit independent of their ability to yield answers to theoretical questions, the particular modes of investigation are not singled out for separate comment, but adduced as they relate to particular subject-matter specialties. The materials are reviewed under the following categories: (1) industrial organization, (2) industrial relations, (3) the industrial worker and his environment, and (4) the social environment of the industrial system.<sup>2</sup> It is to be emphasized that this classification involves analytical abstraction. In any empirical case, these approaches are likely to cut across each other. For example, an adequate analysis of the contemporary social structure of American industry involves recognition of the role of management-union relations in effecting modifications in that structure. Similarly, in focusing upon the individual worker's status and roles in the industrial system, the structure of the managerial and union hierarchies and their relations, as well

<sup>2</sup> Partly for reasons of limited space, and partly because there is less to report, the last two topics will be treated much more summarily than the first two.

Other methods of classifying the areas and methods of industrial study have been suggested, and no superior merit is claimed for the one here adopted. See, for example, Burleigh B. Gardner and William Foote Whyte, "Methods for the Study of Human Relations in Industry," *American Sociological Review*, XI (October, 1946), 506-512; Delbert C. Miller, "The Social Factors of the Work Situation," *American Sociological Review*, XI (June, 1946), 300-314.

<sup>1</sup> See Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934), especially pp. 107-129.

as the organization of the local community, become relevant conditions.

#### INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

Judged by the volume of research and the number of specialists, and confirmed by common conceptions of the field, the "heart" of industrial sociology at the present time is undoubtedly the study of the social structure of industry. These studies may be viewed as starting from and as continuing two polemical orientations. The first has been a reaction to the fairly atomistic, mechanical conceptions of economic relations implicit in the analytical models of classical economics, whereby the organization of productive enterprise is obscured behind the façade of the "labor market" and further hidden by empirically inadequate conceptions of motivation. The second has been a reaction to the "principles of organization" as developed, somewhat independently, by students of industrial management and by experts in public administration, whereby the formal bureaucratic structure is taken as accurately descriptive of social relations in the factory or shop.

The first of these orientations has emphasized the inherently *social* character of industrial organization. It is as old, at least, as the writings of Marx, who commented acidly on the "fetishism of commodities" that hid the social relations of the laborer to his fellows, and to the rest of the productive and distributive system.<sup>3</sup> It has received continued, although perhaps increasingly unnecessary, attention from contemporary students. No one seems likely to deny the general proposition, and the burden of emphasis has naturally shifted to the discovery of its practical or theoretical implications.

The second of these orientations has emphasized the shortcomings of formal bureaucratic principles in accounting for the observable structure of social relations in the

industrial plant. In the process, it has been made clear that there is a remarkable similarity in organizational principles in large associations, whether those associations be "public" or "private" in character, designed to produce goods or services. In the development of sociological theory these principles are commonly associated with the work of Weber on "bureaucracy,"<sup>4</sup> but their application to the study of the industrial structure is not primarily the handiwork of the industrial sociologists.<sup>5</sup> Rather, it appears that the industrial sociologists can claim considerable credit for the introduction of qualifications and elaborations of those principles in terms of the inevitable appearance of "informal" organizations. These amendments seem to be transferable to any bureaucratic structure, as recognized in very recent discussions.<sup>6</sup>

Although general familiarity with the studies of cliques and informal work groups can probably be assumed, certain implications of these studies perhaps have not been adequately explored. For example, to what extent are the informal structures an essential part of complex cooperative systems, necessary to assure the operation of the structure through a more personally satisfying degree and kind of participation than afforded by the rationalized organization? On the other hand, to what extent are these informal associations subversive of the flexibility and freedom from the particularistic ties of the traditional community requisite for the dynamic utilization of machine technology? It is clear, for example, that the transfer into the industrial system of nepotis-

<sup>3</sup> See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, ed. by Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 329-341.

<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the familiarity of sociologists with these principles may be doubted, if general and introductory texts are any guide. One would suppose that in a social order increasingly characterized by the large group organized for limited purposes of co-operation, the general structural characteristics of these groups would find their way into sociological discussions of "groups" and "organization."

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Reinhard Bendix, "Bureaucracy: The Problem and Its Setting," *American Sociological Review*, XII (October, 1947), 493-507.

<sup>6</sup> See Karl Marx, *Capital* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1906, 3 vols.), I, 83. It is not clear from Marx's exposition, however, whether he was condemning the current mode of analysis, or the particular system which made that analysis all-too-accurate.



tic practices, racial or ethnic cleavages, or a variety of other particularistic relations is clearly inimical to rational efficiency of organization. It appears almost equally clear that a structure that relies solely on the kind of technical specialization and functional groupings determined on formally bureaucratic grounds is inherently unstable and is only preserved by the appearance of informal relations. From the available studies it is not certain what the range of variation is within these extremes, or what forms and orientations of the informal patterns contribute to the ends of the cooperative system as such while corresponding to the expectations of the individual participant.<sup>7</sup>

A few recent studies and discussions may be singled out for comment. Mayo and his associates found in a study of absenteeism and labor turnover in several war production plants that these symptoms of employee dissatisfaction and causes of inefficient production were directly related to the atomistic and impersonal relations of workers to their fellows, and inversely related to the existence of a definite work group or team.<sup>8</sup> In these studies, moreover, it appeared that the bases of group allegiance and cleavage were those directly related to the work situation, although the workers were from distinct ethnic and regional backgrounds. On the other hand, the practice of restricting output in the interest of group security was one of the more important findings of the Western Electric studies. Moreover, the studies reported by Hughes do not confirm any optimistic view of the place of the Negro worker in the informal organization of industry, or of his effect upon the antagonistic clique structures developed by white workers.<sup>9</sup> The report on the role of ethnic groups in the Yankee City

shoe factories does not indicate any direct evidence as to the effect of ethnic cliques on productivity, but does indicate that they are a primary basis for informal social solidarity of the workers and that they are recognized as such by management and combatted by diversification of hiring and job assignment in order to offset the real or imagined antipathy of *all* informal cliques to the policies of the firm.<sup>10</sup> Bowden also emphasizes the "coagulation" of informal groups in the industrial structure, although he indicates that they might be fitted into the general cooperative scheme if labor union policies would permit.<sup>11</sup> It is clear from these somewhat contradictory conclusions that, as usual in social analysis, the simple formula will not suffice. A great deal more by way of identification of variables and their control through comparative studies must be accomplished before generally valid predictive formulas can emerge.

There is another phase of industrial organization that has been almost entirely neglected in the field. This is the structure of the labor union. It is true that there is an extensive and fairly adequate literature dealing with the distinction between the industrial and craft principles of organization, and with an analysis of constitutions and by-laws in terms of modes of election of officers, the frequency of conventions, "democratic" or "autocratic" determination of policies, development of staff functions, and the like. There is, however, little knowledge of the actual internal operation of the union organization, how it is affected by past and present environmental influences, or the ways in which informal power structures develop. Until recently, there did not even appear to be much interest in this type of study, partly, apparently, because industrial sociology has to a disturbing degree taken over the partisan espousal of the interests of management, extending even to a safe, because tardy, con-

<sup>7</sup> See Walter Firey, "Informal Organization and the Theory of Schism," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (February, 1948), 15-24.

<sup>8</sup> See Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, 1945), pp. 87-112.

<sup>9</sup> See Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Race Relations in Industry," in William Foote Whyte, ed., *Industry and Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., pp. 107-122.

<sup>10</sup> See W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), pp. 92-98.

<sup>11</sup> See Gordon T. Bowden, "The Adaptive Capacity of Workers," *Harvard Business Review*, XXV (Summer, 1947), 527-542.



clusion that had management followed the principles of industrial sociology the labor union would never have appeared.

Even the studies of the formal organization of unions seem not to have come to the interested attention of the industrial sociologists. Because the collective goal of the union as a cooperative system is somewhat less easily defined than in the case of the manufacturing plant or telephone exchange, and may not in fact be officially expressed or even unofficially known in any precise way, the study of even the formal structures should yield some interesting results. A few illustrative questions may be suggested: In what type of unions is executive power greatest; is it, for example, the product of an effective craft monopoly and security of bargaining position so that policies are for the most part settled and the interest of the rank-and-file limited to financial gains? What are the organizational correlates of managerial and possibly public hostility? What is the range of the union's official activities, and is the range dependent upon type of productive organization, level of skill and social backgrounds of the union members, or degree of urban concentration; how many and which members participate in these activities?<sup>22</sup>

In neither industrial management nor in the trade union (nor, for that matter, in public administration) is the process of decision-making adequately known. If the process of execution of decisions "down the line" and of interpreting reactions, attitudes and sentiments "up the line" is a problem that has singled out the foreman for widespread attention, why is the role of the shop steward not given comparable attention? The range of what we do not know about social phe-

nomena is of course just short of infinite, and it is therefore no justifiable criticism of the field of industrial sociology that it does not have all the answers or has not yet even considered all the questions. If, however, the tenor of research interests exhibits biases that seem to arise from considerations irrelevant to scientific research, there is some point in calling attention to the fact.

The plain and possibly uncomfortable fact is that the unions exist and are likely to continue to do so. Their very existence modifies the organization of production, and indeed must be regarded as part of it. They represent perhaps the widest variety of specialized and more or less voluntary associations with anything like a common purpose. Failure to bring them within the purview of sociological investigation can only be attributed to a peculiar and not wholly blameless myopia.

Undoubtedly the shortage of studies of the internal organization of labor unions is due in part to the difficulty of access to the data. The union organization is generally younger than the corporation, less secure, less accommodated to the routines of record-keeping, and less accustomed to the utilization of technical appraisals of its own methods and results. Moreover, social organization, particularly of the informal type, must be studied largely at first hand, and even if the unions were less suspicious of the outside observer, there are certain class-orientations that make it easier for the university intellectual to move in managerial circles than within the union. These barriers to information are being partly overcome, but they will not be reduced by continued partisan support for the peculiar interests of management, even if that partisanship is more naive than intentional.

One further comment on the study of industrial organization may be added. This concerns the practice of gathering information by first-hand observation, as just noted. There is certainly nothing objectionable in this general procedure, and indeed it may be the only way in which information is available. However, it must be borne in mind that, except as a preliminary test, the tech-

<sup>22</sup> For an informative survey of the more formal aspects of union organization, see Florence Peterson, *American Labor Unions: What They Are and How They Work* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1945). See also John T. Dunlop, "The Development of Labor Organization: A Theoretical Framework," in Richard A. Lester and Joseph Shister, eds., *Insights into Labor Issues* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948), pp. 163-193; Sumner H. Slichter, *The Challenge of Industrial Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947), Chapter IV, "The Government of Trade Unions."

nique of gathering information has no validity independent of the theoretical significance of the questions to which an answer is sought. If a researcher consistently limits himself to counting interactions, drawing sociograms, conducting a limited number of depth interviews, or recording endless conversations, he is probably practicing magic just as surely as if he got his information from a Ouija board. Nor do these direct observations have any mystical superiority over the analysis of such records and similar data as are available. The idea that this is the true method of sociological research seems to have been carried over from the study of exotic preliterate where there was no choice but to observe and seek out informants. As a matter of fact the emphasis upon the more or less esthetic or synaptic "understanding" of social situations is commonly put forth by those who have had no direct experience as rank-and-file wage workers genuinely dependent on their jobs for livelihood. If the test of intimate familiarity is to be used, it may as well be insisted that nothing less than total immersion will do.<sup>13</sup>

#### INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Professor Herbert Blumer has made a number of critical comments on the kind and quality of theory that has informed the research in industrial sociology.<sup>14</sup> The burden of that criticism was that the studies of industrial organization assumed a static, cross-sectional frame of reference, whereas an ade-

quate study of industrial relations requires the simultaneous analysis of many elements in dynamic interaction. It does not follow, however, that sociological theory is totally unable to deal with the phenomena of industrial relations. In fact, the "static" character of the structural-functional type of analysis can be easily overstated; it is by no means inconsistent with the study of changes in the system. Nor can it be claimed that sociology lacks the conceptual framework for "dynamic" analysis. At the level of intergroup relations, the conceptual scheme is that of the moving equilibrium, which will be found to supplement effectively the structural-functional frame of reference. It is difficult to see how the principles governing industrial relations in American society could be derived without the relevant knowledge of the organizations entering these relations. It is precisely because the conduct of industrial relations is notably unstandardized and not amenable to easy generalization that knowledge of the units in interaction, and of the effect of that interaction on the units and therefore on the subsequent pattern of their relations, assumes a crucial importance. If the range of phenomena is theoretically worth studying, no counsel of perfection should deter that study.

It must be emphasized that the present pattern of industrial relations and industrial conflict is very recent and changing very rapidly. This lends weight to the doubts about sociology's adequacy to arrive at principles that have any more general validity than descriptive generalizations after the fact. But surely it is possible to start somewhere. The collective bargaining and industrial disputes of heavy industry are of critical importance to the economy and represent more over the most serious challenge to analysis. These do not, however, necessarily represent the whole field of industrial relations, although the extent to which they may establish a pattern beyond the immediate area of negotiations should be investigated.<sup>15</sup> There are types of collective relations that are much

<sup>13</sup> Incidentally, this tends to be at least a formal requirement for salaried research in the labor union.

<sup>14</sup> See Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Theory in Industrial Relations," *American Sociological Review*, XII (June, 1947), 271-278.

It is suggested that a careful reading of the following paragraphs of this paper constitutes a generally adequate reply both to Professor Blumer and to Professor Dubin in his subsequent discussion. For example, by no stretch of interpretation can the present exposition be said to assume that industrial relations "take place within a closed system," if by that phrase is meant an empirically closed system. The alternative to dealing with units in interaction, subject to internal and external pressures and influences that can be identified, is to brand the empirical phenomena as meaningless chaos. Presumably neither Professor Blumer nor Professor Dubin is willing to accept that alternative.

<sup>15</sup> See Frederick H. Harbison and Robert Dubin, *Patterns of Union-Management Relations* (Chicago: Science Research Association, 1947).

more stabilized which can be studied in terms of their development through time as determined not only by the immediate circumstances of management-union relations but also the secular trends in the economy and society as a whole.<sup>16</sup>

However inadequate the extent of precise and significant knowledge in the sociological study of industrial relations, a useful frame of reference is being developed. To repeat, that frame of reference is the structure of the units in interaction, and the moving equilibrium that follows from their relations, including (a) the modification of each structure in view of its relations with the other or others, (b) the establishment of patterns of relations that constitute in effect new structures, and (c) the possible standardization of those patterns through increasing interdependence of local or special units. Several further considerations emerge from this formulation.

It is becoming increasingly clear that industrial relations are being worked out between two bureaucratic structures: the corporation and the union.<sup>17</sup> These relations are conditioned by the fact that these organizations have a common membership at the rank-and-file level, so that in no empirical sense is either one external to the other. The points of inter-penetration, moreover, are not limited to the lowest level, as negotiation and decision-making may occur at any level in the parallel hierarchies. This leads to the question as to the extent that the union is becoming a part of the "internal" structure

of the productive organization. Here the utility of the structural-functional analysis of industrial organizations is demonstrated. If attention is focused solely on the relations between two collectivities, management and the union, certain more general phenomena are obscured. Perhaps the most important of these in the present connection is the fact that the productive organization is permeated with collective relations among rank-oriented groups, units functionally differentiated, regional units, "irrelevant" cliques, and so on. Although these relations are conducted within a somewhat different legal and customary normative environment than that of the more formally recognized collective bargaining, they exist and by their existence modify the conduct of industrial relations.

The far-reaching significance of these developments should not be missed. The establishment of collective bargaining does not as such determine the goals of either party to the bargaining relation, or the scope of what may be brought into negotiation. Whether recognized at law or by the participants in industrial relations or not, [what is emerging is a new power structure in industry.] It is not being established by sudden changes in the legal structure, although it has been facilitated by the legalization of collective bargaining. Even old-fashioned business unionism, with its simple emphasis on "more and more" has, as one observer put it, "revolutionary overtones." Those overtones are much easier to detect in the conduct of industrial relations on an industry-wide basis, particularly in the heavy and mass-production industries. They lead to a recognition that industrial organization may be undergoing a sort of "syndicalization by accident" rather than by conscious design.<sup>18</sup> If the industrial sociologists do not come to grips with this area of research, they will merit at least part of Professor Blumer's criticisms.

<sup>16</sup> For an interesting and informative study of a developmental sequence in industrial relations, see Warner and Low, *op. cit.* See also the following papers in Lester and Shister, *op. cit.*: Frederick H. Harbison, Robert K. Burns, and Robert Dubin, "Toward a Theory of Labor-Management Relations," pp. 3-24; Neil W. Chamberlain, "Grievance Proceedings and Collective Bargaining," pp. 62-86; Joseph Shister, "Union-Management Cooperation: An Analysis," pp. 87-115; Everett M. Kassalow, "New Patterns of Collective Bargaining," pp. 116-133.

<sup>17</sup> See Frederick H. Harbison, "The Basis of Industrial Conflict," in Whyte, *op. cit.*, Chapter IX; Harbison, "Some Reflections on a Theory of Labor-Management Relations," *Journal of Political Economy*, LIV (February, 1946), 1-16.

<sup>18</sup> See Moore, "Current Issues in Industrial Sociology," *loc. cit.*; Florence Peterson, "Management Efficiency and Collective Bargaining," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, pp. 29-49, October, 1947; Neil Chamberlain, "The Organized Business in America," *Journal of Political Economy*, LII (June, 1944), 97-111.

# THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

One of the more interesting developments in the study of the worker in the industrial environment is that of the relations among mechanization, fatigue, and productivity. Starting from behavioristic studies of physiological reaction to particular types of muscular activity entailed in work assignments, continuing research has almost literally forced investigators into a sociological frame of reference. The research of the Harvard Business School group, and even the earlier and little known studies by Max Weber, have demonstrated the interdependence of the mechanical and the social environment, and of the individual's physiological and psychological reaction to that environment.<sup>19</sup> It is now clear that the worker's relation to the industrial environment cannot be studied in terms of mechanical models, which leads by inference to the necessity of a voluntaristic theory of action and to a recognition of a much greater complexity of motivation than assumed either in the ordinary "principles of management" or in theories of economic incentives.

The formal structure of industry, and to a marked degree the demands of the machine technology itself, assumes a high degree of impersonality, rational division of labor, and incentives based upon wages and an impersonal system of exchange. Yet the whole burden of evidence from accumulated industrial experience and the more or less systematic research of social scientists indicates that this structure will not operate on so tenuous a basis of social relations and human motivation.

In the older literature on the position of

the industrial worker and his relation to the machine, the problem tended to be defined as peculiar to capitalism. More recent investigation, partly made possible by the rise of collective forms of ownership, would seem to indicate that the problem is as extensive as the industrial way of life. It is by no means sure that it is possible to combine the productive efficiency of the industrial machine with stable and personally satisfying social relationships.<sup>20</sup>

As the industrial pattern spreads to the undeveloped areas of the world it encounters a wonderful variety of pre-existing social organizations and systems of norms and incentives. The experience of the older industrial economies indicates that the industrial structure is somewhat modifiable, but it also indicates that those modifications have not as yet captured cooperative loyalties in sufficient degree to give a confidently favorable prognosis for the social stability of the industrial system anywhere. With the partial and interesting exception of Japan, the introduction of industrialism has everywhere been subversive of the constituted social order, and particularly of kinship and communal bases of mutual aid and personal security. Undoubtedly the flexibility of labor force and the somewhat individualized and competitive motivation associated with specialization require the shattering of traditional structures that impede mobility. It is not equally certain that this can be a wholly negative process without grave risk to "morale" and therefore to the effectiveness of the system itself. With regard to newly developing areas, it may not be necessary to

<sup>19</sup> See Elton Mayo, *Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933); National Research Council, Committee on Work in Industry, *Fatigue of Workers* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1941); F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939); Max Weber, "Zur Psychophysik der industriellen Arbeit (1908-1909)," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924), pp. 61-255.

<sup>20</sup> See Eduard Heimann, "Industrial Society and Democracy," *Social Research*, XII (February, 1945), 43-59; Paul Meadows, "Human Relations in Industrial Civilization," *Technology Review*, XLIX (April, 1947), 341-344, 346; Meadows, "The Motivation of Industrial Man," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, VI (April, 1947), 363-370; Meadows, "The Worker: Archetype of Industrial Man," *Social Forces*, XXV (May, 1947), 441-445; Robert K. Merton, "The Machine, the Worker, and the Engineer," *Science*, CV (January 24, 1947), 79-84; Karl Polanyi, "Our Obsolete Market Mentality," *Commentary*, III (February, 1947), 109-117.



recapitulate in detail Western experience, particularly with respect to the extremes of inducement to work by the indirect coercion of hunger, or the later exclusive emphasis upon competitive individualism.

Cautious and research-minded industrial sociologists may be wary of getting enmeshed in such global issues as the future of industrial civilization or the "impoverishment of incentives" and "impoverishment of social relations" apparently related to at least some forms of industrial organization. Yet the global issues are capable of formulation in terms that allow observation and experimentation. The results achieved so far have been essentially negative; that is, they have served better to dispel received theories of organization and individual motivation than to yield an effective system of cooperation and "economy of incentives" under various conditions. This is not to say that research should be directed toward discovery of the skills of cooperation without clearly taking into account the ends of cooperative activity and the interests and values of the cooperators. It is to say that the industrial pattern is now established in sufficiently diversified "cultural areas" and has varied sufficiently within our own society to allow some basis for comparative analysis. Whether or not the future is to be viewed with alarm, the state of industrial research is to be viewed with some misgivings if it consistently neglects the sentiments of the industrial worker. If it is not part of the sociologist's responsibility to save the world, or any segment of it, it may be part of his responsibility to discover the alternative forms of social organization that have some chance of acceptance and survival.

#### THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

An outstanding characteristic of modern society is the degree to which major functional aspects of social activity are carried out by means of specialized structures that have a considerable autonomy of operation and insulation from other phases of the social structure. In a primitive or peasant society the multi-functional organization is

standard. Productive activities, for example, are not likely to be sharply separated either in time or space from kinship obligations, magical and religious rituals, or even political controls. The growth of the great specialized associations tends to segment roles and statuses, and to raise questions of their relations. It is this development of associational autonomy that has made the separate study of economic or political or religious organization seem both feasible and proper. It involves at least a lower order of abstraction than a similar focus of research in the isolated primitive community. Yet if the concept of "society" has any empirical reference at all, the autonomy of the great associations is incomplete, and each is subject to the limiting environment provided by the others and by the controls that function to maintain interdependence and balance.

Studies of the social environment of industrialism are not commonly associated with the field of industrial sociology, and it is perhaps imperialistic to discuss them in this connection. Yet since the field is an empirical and not an analytical specialty, the subject can scarcely be regarded as irrelevant.

For the most part American sociological studies of the social environment of the industrial system have investigated either the significance of various social distinctions for the recruitment and treatment of workers, or, more especially, the relations of industry to the local community.<sup>21</sup> However, when the focus of research is placed on the community, or the labor force, or the factory, the peculiar contribution of sociology is not always clear. This has both theoretical and practical implications. The scientific significance of sociological research will certainly be enhanced by careful attention to the theoretical questions that any investigation is designed to answer. Since there is no assurance that this will be done with rigor by sociologists or by their colleagues in, say, labor economics, it behooves the researcher to inform himself as to the work being done in related disciplines. Thus the "institution-

<sup>21</sup> For example, see Warner and Low, *op. cit.*



alist" tradition in economics has turned up materials of considerable interest to the sociologist, and the latter certainly does not need to practice craft unionism to the extent of insisting that the work be done by one of his own kind.

The shortcomings of industrial sociology at the present time may be partly forgiven on grounds of youthful innocence and even exuberance. The field is, of course, in some danger of being tempted from the path of true virtue by the attractive possibilities of becoming "practical" in the service of one or another interest-group. There is little possibility, and perhaps little need, of preventing this expansion of occupational opportunities. The field will suffer if more fundamental research is not given adequate attention and support.

### DISCUSSION

Robert Dubin  
*University of Chicago*

The burden of Moore's remarks concerning industrial organization is that people operate businesses. As a result, the blue-printed skeletal organization of a firm is given the flesh and blood of people interacting with each other to achieve the company's aims. He here poses the problem of possible antagonism between the purposes sought by the company in organizing the work force, and the expectations of the individual worker upon whose adequate participation the firm is dependent.

In the discussion of the industrial worker and his environment, Moore concludes that "the introduction of industrialization has everywhere been subversive to the constituted social order, and particularly of kinship and communal bases of mutual aid and personal security."

The impersonal forces of industrialization (according to Moore) tear down the traditional fabric of social relations, while the individual tends, in his perverse human way, to act against the ordering and organizing imperatives of the business organization in which he spends roughly half of his waking hours.

This is an interesting dilemma. There is serious question as to whether Moore has attacked the dilemma appropriately. Is it industrialization and the division of labor *as such* which has destroyed the communal basis of social organization? Or is it the aggregation of large numbers

of people in our cities which is the basis for substituting impersonal, categoric relations for face-to-face, primary relations?<sup>1</sup>

The picture of people without satisfactory and satisfying ways of living is not a problem primarily oriented to the work place. It is rather a problem of the urban way of life in which earning a living is but one facet. What happens inside the factory is pointed to by Moore as "... a high degree of impersonality, rational division of labor, and incentives based upon wages and an impersonal system of exchange." This is but a reflection and perhaps intensification of what the worker has lived with since birth, and prior to his becoming a wage earner.

We have then, Moore's picture of the worker bringing his urban way of life into the factory and attempting to create some basis for social relations with his fellow workers. Sometimes the informal structure of work relations runs counter to the purposes of the company. The dilemma stands clearly outlined: individual disorientation becomes organized in the plant to disrupt the structure of the company.

But what about a union? Here Moore poses a second dilemma. The company must maintain a minimum of cooperation between management and men. In contrast with this cooperatively organized work force, Moore points to the union-management relationship as being a power struggle. Thus, we have the imperative of cooperation placed against the fact of power and its implications of conflict.

A company must face almost insuperable odds against its survival because of the combined onslaught of workers as people and workers as union members. Yet companies somehow manage to survive.

Perhaps the inconclusive manner in which Moore deals with these twin dilemmas is in part attributable to the standpoint from which he attempts to analyze them. It seems to me that he has followed the first of the five sources suggested by Blumer—to study industrial relations as if they were in the nature of organized practices and customary routines.<sup>2</sup> Blumer has

<sup>1</sup> See Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*. (XLIV (1939), 1-21) where great stress is placed on the significance of numbers in the development of an urban way of life.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Theory in Industrial Relations," *American Sociological Review*, XII, 274.

already dwelt adequately, it seems to me, with the limitations of that approach. I would like to suggest that there is at least one feasible substitute to considering industrial relations as a system of customary routines. The worker in the factory, and the union dealing with management can be viewed as acting within the constraints of a necessary relationship in that they have to deal only with each other in establishing a minimal system of mutual expectations and obligations. But this structure within which they are forced to react only with each other does not necessarily determine their respective strategies and policies.

Nowhere does this suggested divergence from Moore's point of view become more evident than in considering his proposals for the development of a typology of union-management relations. His frame of reference for the analysis of union-management relations is simple. He proposes that the collectivities, union and management, be viewed as "units in interaction" which at given points in time achieve a "moving equilibrium" or a temporary balance of power. He suggests that each point of equilibrium represents a modification of the structure of both union and management. (This incidentally, is an old view set forth countless times by those who note the replacement of conflict leaders by business leaders in the development of a union). In this connection he sees a "syndicalization by accident" if unions continue to encroach on management functions.

This approach views collective bargaining as taking place within a closed system. The factory or company is the boundary of the system with management and the local union the units of interaction. It is totally unrealistic to view collective bargaining as taking place within such closed systems as Moore proposes. It is this fallacy of viewing the problems of industrial sociology as being problems of integrated or even closed social systems which underlies some of the misconceptions which Moore has summarized so adequately. This criticism applies as much to his discussion of industrial organization as it does to his proposals concerning industrial relations.

Let us examine Moore's frame of reference in some detail. A minor, but necessary criticism is that the union-management relationship is at least tri-parite—with government often playing a decisive role. From that standpoint, what happens in the individual collective bargaining situation between company and union may bear little relationship to the kind of bargain ultimately

achieved, as we saw under the WLB, for example. It is as yet too early to evaluate the Taft-Hartley Law except to point out that it already has had significant effects, particularly from the standpoint of anti-union activity. This at least suggests that we pause before accepting "syndicalization by accident" in the management of our industrial concerns.

I would like to suggest that Moore's interest in an eventual typology of union-management relations is one I share. I arrive at that conclusion from different considerations, however. Moore is vague on the point, but he seems to propose a general developmental scheme of union-management relations in which each stage of development, from no union to bilateral monopoly would, in effect, represent a type. This is the inference we can draw from his discussion of the Warner-Low study.<sup>3</sup>

I would like to propose a few ideas which I think are relevant to the development of a typology of union-management relations. We have first of all to examine the nexus between company and union. A union and company are in a *necessary* and not a *voluntary* relationship. There is no market of employers with which a union can seek to bargain for a work force of a particular company. The union must deal only with the officials of the given company. Similarly, there is no market of unions among whom an employer can choose in bargaining with his employees. It is true as Moore and others have pointed out that the union and company organizations have a common membership at the rank and file level. It is also true that the company and union can deal only with each other in bargaining over the fate of that work force.

I know of no other social relationship between collectivities in which these same conditions are found. Perhaps out of the sociological analysis of industrial relations we may be able to develop contributions to sociological theory which traditional bodies of data have never before yielded.

The necessary relationship suggests at once an important restriction on the range of variation in patterns of collective bargaining. Collective bargaining must first be oriented to the par-

<sup>3</sup>This seems to be the analysis of patterns of industrial relations in terms of what Blumer has pointed to as being "... products of long time trends of 'super-organic factors'." *Ibid.*, p. 275. I think Blumer's comments on this approach are appropriate.

ticular problems of the plant of company in question. From the international union's standpoint this tends to be destructive of uniformity in policy. It would lead to a multiplicity of bargaining patterns related to the variations in the company's position and the composition of the work force.

Are there then some conditioning factors outside the context of the individual plant which can contribute to the uniformity sought by the international union?

I would like to emphasize one in particular which gives major consideration to the power aspect of industrial relations. The power of a union *vis a vis* a particular employer is in part dependent upon the power of the union in the industry. If the union has the industry broadly organized, its ability to enforce collective bargaining demands against a single company is enhanced. More particularly, if the company leaders of the industry are organized there is less possibility of resistance to organization on the part of other industry members. This points up the fact that there may be crucial industry bargains which tend to set the pattern of collective bargaining for an industry. Outside the key bargain will lie a host of other union-management relationships which tend to conform to the key bargain.

It seems highly probable that the first approximation to a typology of union-management relationships will be to establish the dichotomy between "pattern-setting" and "pattern-following" situations.<sup>4</sup> In another connection I have further suggested that additional classifying criteria will be the size of the firm (for reasons of important variations in authority and control in the company and union organizations) and the extent of cooperation and conflict which is evident in the relationship (which is in part limited by the other two criteria). There is not time here to consider the other two classifying criteria.<sup>5</sup>

This approach proved most fruitful in our

<sup>4</sup>A detailed statement of one such typology using this distinction as one of three major classifying criteria was used in a study of grievances. See: Robert Dubin, "The Grievance Process—A Study of Union-Management Relations," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago: U. of C. Libraries, 1947). The point was further emphasized in Frederick H. Harbison, Robert K. Burns, and Robert Dubin, "Framework for Research in Labor Management Relations," in Lester and Shister, *Insights in Labor Relations* (New York: Macmillan, 1948).

<sup>5</sup>See Dubin, *Op. Cit.*

study of the automobile industry.<sup>6</sup> Much of what I found in the collective bargaining pattern at Studebaker was conditioned and determined by what happened to the same union at General Motors. To be sure, there were important variations at Studebaker that can be explained on other grounds. But both management executives and union officials made it perfectly clear that at South Bend they operated within the shadow of the giants. When the sense of pattern setting and following in collective bargaining reaches the point of conscious expression in labor relations policy and practice, I feel that it deserves important consideration by students of industrial relations.

The importance of the notion of pattern setting and following in collective bargaining is that it ties together a set of types into a dynamic system. We do not have to set forth in advance, the direction which the particular system is taking. I think that becomes important for it frees us from the constraints of the kind of natural history approach which Moore seems to suggest, retaining the element of the dynamics without specifying the directions of movement. Thus, it seems to me we can encompass within our analysis the apparent disjointed, directionless character of modern American collective bargaining.

## DISCUSSION

Delbert C. Miller  
*University of Washington*

I am glad to note at the outset that Professor Moore elected to use the term Industrial Sociology rather than the term "Industrial Relations" which was inflicted upon the section. Our main business is removed from management-union bargaining relations as is commonly understood by the use of the term "Industrial Relations."

In the first place I find the title of the paper disturbs me. The paper has the heading, "Industrial Sociology: Status and Prospects." I was prepared for a somewhat more concrete evaluation of the research efforts that have been undertaken, an appraisal of their worth and promising leads to future research projects. In place of this I find that Professor Moore has elected to "deal with the major conceptual orientations in the field." This choice of orienta-

<sup>6</sup>Frederick H. Harbison and Robert Dubin, *Patterns of Union-Management Relations: The UAW (CIO), General Motors and Studebaker* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1947).

tion is most significant. If we were to single out one statement that stamps the progress of industrial sociology up to and through 1947, we should probably record the fact that sociologists were still struggling to define the field.

What he has said and what I think all of us on the panel must say is that the amount of research in industrial sociology is small, that we are still struggling to find agreement as to what shall be included in the field and what emphasis shall be given to the component sectors.

What is the field of Industrial Sociology?<sup>1</sup> Professor Moore says it is "concerned with the application and development of principles of sociology relevant to the industrial mode of production and the industrial way of life."

Mary Van Kleeck in speaking before this society defined industrial sociology as the "body of knowledge which would record and organize experience in human association in the industrial community." The industrial community refers "to the common interest in production, including agriculture and mining, as well as manufacturing and mechanical industries, the productive forces used in all these processes, and the services, such as transportation and communication, which result in making products available for ultimate consumption."<sup>2</sup>

Burleigh B. Gardner, Everett C. Hughes, W. Lloyd Warner, and William F. Whyte say that they are working as part of the Committee on Human Relations in Industry at the University of Chicago seeking to "carry on research in the social organization of industry and of our industrial society."<sup>3</sup> Herbert Blumer balks on the use of the term Industrial Sociology and calls for a new attack on industrial relations basing the approach "on the recognition that such relations in our society are a moving pattern of accommodative adjustments largely between organized parties." He says, "the relations between workers

and management constitute what is centrally important in the field of modern industry."<sup>4</sup>

Although I hold to another view regarding the content of Industrial Sociology, it must be said that Professor Blumer has made his central focus perfectly clear. I can understand Professor Blumer, but I am not sure that I comprehend what some of my other sociological brethren are talking about. What do Van Kleeck, Moore, Gardner, Warner, Hughes, and Whyte mean when they use the term *industrial*? Do they include business offices as well as factories? Do they include warehouses, hospitals, schools, farms, railroad crews, homes, and building construction sites? Do they give equal attention to workers who are non-unionized as well as unionized workers? I refer to that 75% of the labor force who rely on individual rather than collective bargaining. Do they give equal attention to workers who do not receive pay as well as to workers who do receive pay? I refer to at least 60 million housewives and students as well as to the 60 million workers in the labor force.

I am left with the strong impression that all of these researchers have either said they did not make as wide an inclusion or implied that they did not.

We know that work behavior is social behavior. Mayo and his associates have shown that the crucial factors determining worker morale and efficiency are social factors. We know that a major share of the social relationships in which an individual finds himself are work relationships or work-influenced relationships. The social network of work relations arises as each worker strives to find an emotionally secure social position within his immediate work group. Inside the work plant is a social world in which men and women live a large part of their lives. In the community work relations and work values define status and, to a large extent, the social groups in which the individual moves. Personality is formed by these contacts and occupational groups become major influences on the development of personality.

If these statements are as soundly rooted as I think they are, then it follows that the sector of specialization which we must pry open includes the fullest expression of what is meant by work or labor.

<sup>4</sup> Blumer, Herbert, "Sociological Theory in Industrial Relations," *American Sociological Review*, XII (June, 1947), 272.

<sup>1</sup> The writer has elaborated his own views in "The Social Factors of the Work Situation," *American Sociological Review*, XI (June, 1946), 300-314, and more recently in "The Future Development of Industrial Sociology," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*, April, 1947, published by *Research Studies of State College of Washington*, Pullman, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> Van Kleeck, Mary, "Towards an Industrial Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, XI (October, 1946), 501.

<sup>3</sup> Gardner, Burleigh B. and Whyte, William F., "Methods for the Study of Human Relations in Industry," *American Sociological Review*, XI (October, 1946), 506.



Alfred Marshall, the great English economist, defined labor as "any exertion of mind or body undergone partly or wholly with a view to some good other than the pleasure derived directly from the work." This definition has been widely accepted in contrast to the strict classical view that only those who contribute wealth through production of goods may be rightly called productive workers. It sometimes seems that the writers of industrial sociology are talking only about the workers whom Adam Smith declared productive when they talk about "the industrial worker."<sup>5</sup>

It has seemed to this writer and his collaborating colleague, Dr. William Form of Michigan State College, that industrial sociology is a field embracing all work relations. Its scope of data is as wide as the scope of work behavior in and outside of monetary work plants. The goal is to penetrate into this vast network of social relationships, and find the underlying uniformities which characterize this area. Four divisions of study then enfold. These are:

- The Social Organization of Work Plants,
- The Social Adjustment of the Worker,
- The Relation of the Work Plant and the Worker to the Local Community,
- The Relation of the Work Plant and the Worker to Society.

In my judgment the most distinctive and rewarding sociological work to be done now is a careful theoretical and research integration of the first two divisions. Our sociological theory and methods are well developed to describe the processes of social interaction that result in the social organization of work plants and the personality of the worker. The social organization of work plants has been described well enough to give this young field a substantial foundation. The great gap is the area of social adjustment. Occupational sociology and its intimate, occupational social psychology, represent but another face of industrial sociology. As Lastrucci points out in a recent article in the *Review*, occupational research has been largely neglected.<sup>6</sup> Until we trace the impact of work groups and work values upon the personality, we shall be without a substantial body of data that is now needed to describe the reciprocal relationships which arise as individuals become

persons within the social structure of work plants and the work values of society.<sup>7</sup> If this be true, our main job in building industrial sociology is to seek out those principles that are exhibited in work groups and in the socialization of the worker regardless of the economic or political structure of the larger society. For this objective a study of management-union relations occupies an important but nonetheless secondary position. Immediately, studies in work plant ecology are needed to relate the worker and the work plant to the local community. Ecologists have a new and almost untouched role to play in this task.

In summary, Professor Moore and myself are not too far apart. We differ in emphasis, perhaps measurably so in the weighing of areas whose development we would encourage. If I am correctly appraising the differences between our thinking, I should say that I give:

1. Greater importance to the work relations in non-monetary work plants such as home, school, and some community organizations.
2. Greater emphasis to the socialization of the worker who begins to be influenced by work relations shortly after birth and is an ever changing product of those relationships until death.
3. Greater emphasis to the importance of ecological studies which relate the worker, and the work plant to the local community.
4. Less emphasis on industrial relations when defined as management-union bargaining relations which I regard more often as by-products of social processes rather than as a source of basic content.
5. Less concern with the institutionalization of work as is tied up in such investigations as the effect of a capitalist or socialist structure on work behavior.

## DISCUSSION

Paul Meadows  
*University of Nebraska*

Professor Moore's paper begins with the inevitable apology apparently expected of all sociologists studying industrial phenomena. His

<sup>7</sup> The general framework adopted here is the result of the joint thinking of the writer and Dr. William H. Form, Michigan State College. A more complete integration of research and theory may be found in their *Industrial Sociology: An Introduction to the Sociology of Work Relations*, Harper and Bros. (In preparation.)

<sup>5</sup> Marshall, Alfred, *Principles of Economics* (8th ed.; New York: Macmillan and Co.), 1930, p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Lastrucci, Carlo L., "The Status and Significance of Occupational Research," *American Sociological Review*, XI (February, 1946), 78-84.

defense is, in part and in paraphrase of Emerson, that if eyes were made for seeing, then industrial sociology is its own excuse for being. His defense is also, in part, the differentiation between analytic and empirical modes of specialization. This distinction is especially pertinent, for sociologists encounter in many fields of inquiry this particular type of academic *mores*.

One point, which was not and which should have been more fully developed, in my opinion, is suggested in the sentence: "The field of industrial sociology then is concerned with the application of or development of principles of sociology relevant to the industrial mode of production and the industrial way of life." I refer here to the phase, "the application or development of principles." This, I believe, is a critical problem. Of course, a dichotomy here is to be avoided: it is not a question of either-or. But industrial sociologists should seriously consider whether or not the best interests of their field lie in "the development of" rather than in "the application of" principles.

One of the values of Professor Moore's paper is the manner in which he pays attention to the matter of practical applications.

His paper repeatedly calls attention to the uses of comparative case studies, especially of those done with a view to general principles. One wonders if research-minded sociologists are sufficiently principle-conscious.

Professor Moore's classification of research interests and problems wisely ignores the severe restrictions so self-certainly imposed by Professor Blumer last year. Professor Blumer presented industrial sociologists with what he evidently regarded as a Gordian Knot. One thing in Professor Moore's paper which ought to be applauded is the manner in which he neatly and cleverly cuts that knot with the deft observation that "Professor Blumer's criticism is therefore dual: the industrial sociologists are not studying the right phenomena, and they could not if they wanted to."

Professor Moore's summary of the studies and the problems of "industrial organization" suggests that a transfer of learning can be effected from one area of social activity to another. For the problems of industrial organization are not peculiar to that field: they abound in all types of social organization.

The author's review of the research issues in the field of industrial relations suggests the advisability of principles being developed rather than applied. Comparative case studies ought to

yield up the processes by which patterns of industrial relations emerged and are changed. Professor Moore wisely warns against a marriage, though not against a courtship, with such current favorites in the field as "the lines of communication" or "the skills of coöperation."

The study of "the industrial worker and his environment" has been almost exclusively the province of the industrial psychologist. It is a question in my mind whether the sociologist can really contribute anything new to this field, except perhaps in the way of synthesis. Certainly collaboration between sociology and psychology in the study of industrial motivation would be most profitable.

Professor Moore warns research-minded industrial sociologists to be wary of global issues, such as "the future of industrial civilization" or "the impoverishment of incentives," and so forth. I think his caution smacks of the empirical rather than analytical mode of specialization, as though he were urging that such questions be left to the philosophers or poets. In research oriented toward the search for principles, all issues are, or become, global.

The least convincing part of Professor Moore's paper is the discussion of the social environment of the industrial system. Here the problem of methodology hurriedly and inadequately treated in this paper, becomes uppermost.

Throughout Professor Moore's paper there is the injunction to sociologists not to walk among the counsels of perfection, nor sit in the seat of the scornful, nor dwell in the land of occupational opportunities. It is a choice and wise thought.

## DISCUSSION

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Regarding the area of "Industrial Organization," I am most concerned about what I believe to be some of the difficulties involved in the application of the Weberian theory of Bureaucracy. It sometimes appears that Weber's theory of Bureaucracy is used as a finished tool rather than as a set of hypotheses which, while suggestive as guides to research, must be happily subordinated to actual findings. While concurring wholeheartedly with Dr. Moore's entreaty that research must be oriented to theoretically significant problems, it seems important to affectively remember that theory may be modified,

if not exploded, by what Dr. Merton calls the "serendipity component" of research, the unanticipated findings.<sup>1</sup>

The Weberian ideal-type of bureaucracy is, it must be emphasized, a theory relatively innocent of spatio-temporal cautions. Weber finds "Bureaucracy" as far back as Egypt, the later Roman Principate, and China from the time of Shi Hwangti.<sup>2</sup> Weber's thesis maintains that Bureaucracy has existed in an essentially similar form, regardless of great differences in the social structure in which it was enmeshed. Stated differently, Weber has constructed his type of bureaucratic organization out of elements which may be constant, regardless of varying social structures.

His analysis is, therefore, pitched to the clarification of the allegedly common elements which bureaucratic organizational forms may manifest, regardless of era or region. In consequence, his work is somewhat indifferent to (a) variations in bureaucratic forms, and (b) the manner in which the common characteristics designated as bureaucratic are interrelated with historically specific social structures.<sup>3</sup>

In part, Weber characterizes the ideal-type bureaucracy as possessing hierarchically arranged, continuously operating offices, the behavior of whose occupants is channeled and circumscribed by general rules. Bureaucratic authority is said to reside in the office, not in the occupant, while official activity is separated

from private life. The existence of general, learnable rules of procedure structuring behavior in the office is considered nuclear to the type.

It would seem doubtful that large doses of Weber, taken at regular intervals, provided an adequate antidote to the formal approach employed by students of industrial management and experts in public administration. For Weber's analysis of Bureaucracy premises, to an interesting extent, the official postulates of contemporary formal organization.<sup>4</sup> As an example of this is Weber's functional analysis of bureaucratic rules as securing predictability of performance and eliminating "friction." That this is a formal and incomplete description of their functions may be seen if the following question is raised: Just *what* do the general rules make predictable, and *for whom* is this being made predictable?

For example, regarding factory workers' promotional opportunities and conditions of dismissal, there is *relatively* little that is predictable.<sup>5</sup> In short, *certain* things are *not* made predictable by the rules. In the absence of unions, certain types of rules, usually defining obligations, are apparently more fully developed for the lower industrial strata, the area of discretion being narrowed at the base.<sup>6</sup> Conversely, relaxation of certain rules (*e.g.*, sick-leave, lateness, holidays, etc.) increases as one goes up the hierarchy. In this respect, Weber appears to be making the same error as did Durkheim, when the latter conceived of the "collective conscience" as operating apart from the intervention of interested and differentially powerful groups.

Such variations in the rule structure find

<sup>1</sup>"Fruitful empirical research not only tests theoretically derived hypotheses; it also originates new hypotheses. This might be termed the 'serendipity' component of research, *i.e.*, the discovery, by chance or sagacity, of valid results which were not sought for." Robert K. Merton, "Sociological Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (May, 1945), 469. Thus research is subject to, at least, some of the perils of other forms of planned action, *i.e.*, unanticipated consequences.

<sup>2</sup>H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Editors), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 204.

<sup>3</sup>Weber's treatment of this problem is not unambiguous, for while emphasizing the multiple historical sources and manifestations of bureaucracy, he does state that, "... the capitalistic system has undeniably played a major role in the development of bureaucracy ... capitalism is the most rational economic basis for bureaucratic administration and enables it to develop in the most rational form. ..." Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, Edited by Talcott Parsons (Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 338.

<sup>4</sup>Perhaps for this reason Weber focusses on the functional, and de-emphasizes the dysfunctional, aspects of bureaucracy. Cf., Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," *Social Forces*, XVIII (May, 1940).

<sup>5</sup>The workers' "channels of advancement are not clear, the how and the when of getting ahead are not defined. When they ask their boss how they can get ahead, he can only say that if they work hard, do a good job, behave themselves, and try to learn about the work, eventually they will be given a chance at better jobs. He cannot say if they do this and this and this and this, they will be promoted at the end of so many months. ..." Burleigh B. Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry* (Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1946), p. 174.

<sup>6</sup>W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (Yale University Press, 1947), p. 111.

their reflection among many workers who feel that the factory is a realm of arbitrariness devoid of security.<sup>7</sup> Such feelings, of course, do not indicate the absence of general rules guiding their behavior—far from it! They suggest, however, that in matters of *most concern to the workers* the rules are such as to *minimize their* ability to predict. In this sense, then, the union contract may be seen as an effort on the part of workers to establish a basis of prediction relevant to *their own goals*.

Bureaucratic rules fulfill typically different functions for different ranks in the industrial bureaucracy. It would seem, in fact, that under certain conditions, it is necessary and normal for the rules to be such as to make prediction difficult or impossible for lower strata personnel. For given the implicit but common assumption that anxiety and insecurity are effective motivators, then employers will tend to leave undeveloped these rules which would structure the aspirational horizon of workers. It is, perhaps, in part for this reason that employers are loathe to grant trade unions contractual arrangements providing for conditions of promotion and, in particular, establish seniority rules.

Factories, or other bureaucracies, may not be spoken of as having ends. It is instead necessary to specify the ends of different people, or the typical ends of different strata within the organization. Such a refocusing suggests that these vary, are not necessarily identical and, may in fact, be contradictory.

It may be useful to indicate the manner in which the Weberian theory of Bureaucracy may be applied to certain problems of all too manifest in the industrial bureaucracy. One of the most important of these is the problem of the impersonalization of human relations within the factory. This involves behavior in which the individual uniqueness of people or their problems is ignored and they are treated as "cases," "problems," or "things."

Though more recently developed,<sup>8</sup> Weber's explanation of this problem makes explicit that

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting that this sentiment is expressed even by workers in newly industrialized China. One is reported as saying, "We the workers toil everyday. *We do not know what is coming tomorrow. There is no light ahead for us*" (our emphasis, A.W.G.). Ta Chen, "Basic Problems of the Chinese Working Classes," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII November, 1947), 188.

<sup>8</sup> Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality."

"the dominance of a spirit of formalistic impersonality" is to be understood as one of "the principal more general consequences of bureaucratic control."<sup>9</sup> That is, impersonalization is a consequence of bureaucratic forms, relatively indifferent to the specific function of the bureaucracy, or the social structure of which it is a part.

It should be noted first that this analysis does not account for at least one empirical generalization which may be about impersonalized behavior. Namely, that not all members of an industrial bureaucracy—or of the public with whom the bureaucracy comes into contract—are treated with equal degrees of impersonality. Impersonal behavior evidently tends to be strongest between status levels, while studies of informal group structure among operatives indicate that, at least on the lowest levels, impersonalized behavior is minimal among formal equals.

As between the industrial bureaucracy and its public, it is obvious that an applicant for a job receives considerably greater impersonal treatment (the "brush-off") than the customer, who, instead, receives the "glad-hand." Nor are these variations in themselves constant, for, given a labor and material shortage, it may be the customer who receives the "brush-off" and the job-applicant, the "glad-hand." It seems clear, that a constant norm of impersonality is an inadequate explanation for such variant and variable behavior. Factors such as increasing monopoly, declining social mobility, growing overhead costs, absentee ownership—all conceptually irrelevant to bureaucratic forms—do much to diminish intra-factory identification and make impersonalization functional. An adequate analysis of impersonalization will involve these.

If these considerations are relevant for the illustration used a moment ago, then they should bear on Dr. Moore's suggestion that "the formal structure of industry, and to a marked degree the demands of the machine technology itself, assumes a high degree of impersonality . . ." among other things. Dr. Moore's conclusion is, therefore, that ". . . the problem is as extensive as the industrial way of life. It is by no means sure that it is possible to combine the productive efficiency of the industrial machine with stable and personally satisfying social relationships."

<sup>9</sup> Weber, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, p. 340.



Dr. Moore poses the problem squarely: which of the impairments of social relationships in the factory, or how much of any given impairment, is attributable to machine technology and the formal structure of industry per se, and which, to the particular mode of productive relations enmeshing the technology and formal structure?

A similar problem is raised when Dr. Moore indicates that, "With the partial and interesting exception of Japan, the introduction of industrialism has everywhere been subversive of the constituted social order, and particularly of kinship and communal bases of mutual aid and personal security." Here, too, it becomes necessary to seek a distinction between those determinants deriving from machine technology or the formal industrial structure, on the one hand, and a specific set of property relations, on the other. In addition, it becomes imperative to inquire into the particular type of inter-national relationship between the country importing, and the country exporting, the industrial innovations. Parenthetically, it might be added that the "shattering of traditional structures" is by no means necessarily dysfunctional to the newly industrialized areas, *from the standpoint of their relationship with the exporting country*. It should be recognized that solicitous efforts to secure native institutions from change need not spring from humanitarian considerations but have, on many occasions merely been the particular technique of retaining foreign domination.<sup>10</sup>

Dr. Moore's implicit injunction that we must not optimistically assume that present forms of social pathology in the factory will easily surrender is well taken. His reflections concerning the possible effects of formal factory organization and machine technology, should give pause both, to certain sociologists who believe the manipulation of informal group structure is a kind of sociological penicillin, as well as to those who naïvely believe that socialism will automatically and mechanically eliminate every social ill in the factory.

Even if, as seems plausible, certain impairments of social relations stem from industrialism or machine technology, there is yet no occasion for pessimism as these themselves are dynamic and continually changing. The industrial usage of atomic energy, the hint of quasi-automatic

factories, to indicate only two of the most radical innovations which seem possible, offer great possibilities for the repair of some social relations ruptured by the present operation of the modern factory. Fully applied, these innovations can provide the necessary conditions whereby (a) the amount of time required of workers for factory production can be significantly diminished, (b) the amount of deadly dull work be minimized, and (c) the size of factories be decreased by decentralization.

Another problem found in industrial bureaucracies, which like that of impersonalization, has been interpreted in terms of bureaucratic forms, and without reference to the property relations of production, is that of "red-tape." A prevalent analysis of this problem interprets it as a situation in which "... employees (may) believe that means are ends, with the result that (they) come to value the routines of their duties more than the accomplishment of the aims for which the organization exists in the first place."<sup>11</sup> Another writer<sup>12</sup> suggests that red-tape is to be understood as the transformation of means into ends, occasioned by the need for reliable and, therefore, disciplined behavior in bureaucracies.

The explanation of red-tape in terms of bureaucratic structure is evidently committed to a means-ends schema. This conceptual scheme, however, seemingly involves inadequate consideration of at least one element, the time-lag between a series of acts, the "means" and "ends," which assumes importance in another frame of reference. Namely, red-tape apparently indicates the actor's inability to take into account the connection between an act-now and an act-in-the-future. That is, red-tape may not merely involve an emphasis upon the means, but also an emphasis upon the *present*; similarly, it involves not merely a neglect of the ends, but also a neglect of the *future*.

Sociologists' uniform explanations of red-tape, together with inadequate attention to the empirical problem, strongly suggests that alternative theoretical systems have not been sufficiently explored to determine what they can offer toward an understanding of this problem. For example, from the Gestalt point of view, the concrete behavior is susceptible to interpretation as being atomized, indicating that the individual

<sup>10</sup> Raymond Kennedy, "The Colonial Crisis and The Future," in Ralph Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 307-346.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Man* (Princeton University Press, 1945), p. 309.

<sup>12</sup> Merton, *op. cit.*

has not developed a frame of reference structuring his behavior, and enabling him to see its elements as part of a larger pattern.

From a psychoanalytic point of view "red-tape" behavior may well be a form of reaction-formation. That is, an employee sensing his own "inward pull" to avoid or violate the bureaucratic-rules, feeling his own temptation to transgress, may define this as a situation dangerous to himself. In consequence, he may seek to defend himself by trying to appear as a paragon of virtue, both to himself and his employer, by over-conformance to the rule-details. Like most forms of reaction-formation this may involve veiled forms of aggression most easily expressed downwards or sideways.

Red-tape may also involve a desire to "display" one's functions in their fullness, to manifest one's power in the display and draw out the situation of dependence upon the actor. It may be hypothesized that the surface indications of power conceal their opposite, insecurity or anxiety.<sup>13</sup> Thus another hypothesis suggested by a psychoanalytical frame of reference could be that red-tape is a compensatory mechanism.

The previous psychological excursion, of course not intended definitely to characterize red-tape, means to suggest that *commitment* to one theoretical system, apart from empirical examination of the problem to which it is being applied, is as hazardous as untheoretical research. It should seem that, particularly at the present nascent level of industrial sociology, empirical research should explore the potentialities of

alternative theoretical systems, rather than feeling obligated to any single one. This is far from empiricism, but is simply a way of structuring the research situation to foster the emergence of multiple hypotheses. Moreover, it cannot be ignored that a major step in scientific method is the evaluation and elimination of competing hypotheses, a step which requires development of the relevant implications of alternative systems.

If the aforementioned psychological speculations about red-tape have any merit, they strongly suggest that the relationship of red-tape to such social phenomena as the definition of the factory as private property—with the concomitant implication that the workers are merely "hands"—may be related to the absence of a frame of reference which would structure their behavior meaningfully; that declining mobility rates have much to do with an emphasis on the future and together with recurrent bouts of unemployment conduce to anxiety. Such sociological variables, if demonstrated to be relevant, make it necessary to go outside of the industrial bureaucracy for at least part of the explanation of red-tape, if, indeed, there is only one type of red-tape.

The analysis of phenomena such as absenteeism, labor turnover, restriction of output and discrimination in terms of informal group structure is similar to those made in terms of bureaucratic structure in that the effects of a specific set of property relations, and concomitant definitions of the situation within the factory, are implicitly held to be irrelevant.

The present emphasis in industrial sociology upon machine technology or industrialism *per se*, as the source of certain social maladjustments, apart from the particular property relations, may be among the first signs of what would be a most welcome reaction to radical cultural relativism. Or, it may, on a different level, reflect pressures of a kind referred to by Dr. Moore when he said: "The field is, of course, in some danger of being tempted away from the path of true virtue by the attractive possibilities of being 'practical' in the service of one or another interest group." It seems fair, however, to add that true, or other kinds of virtue, does *not* reside in being "theoretical" "in the service of one or another interest group," even though the rewards are, doubtless, by no means as attractive.

<sup>13</sup>In a recent article discussing types of Navy disbursing officers, one type presented suggests some of the *sociological* factors conducting to insecurity or anxiety and indicates their relationship to red tape behavioral patterns: "The regulation type approximates the true bureaucrat in that he remains impervious to rank, informal structures, and orders of his superiors, but goes further in *employing the narrowest possible interpretations of every regulation*. For fear of the General Accounting Office his rule is, 'When in doubt, don't.' . . . This type is not in a majority during wartime, and consists chiefly of 'green' officers who have not yet felt the full pressure of the contrary influences or have not yet learned how easily regulations may be manipulated, and of 'mustangs,' former enlisted men who have secured commissions" (our emphasis, A.W.G.). Ralph H. Turner, "The Navy Disbursing Officer as a Bureaucrat," *American Sociological Review*, XII (June, 1947), p. 347.

## A NEW DIMENSION OF STATUS: I. DEVELOPMENT OF A PERSONALITY SCALE\*

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IT IS GENERALLY recognized among social psychologists that the position occupied by an individual in the social hierarchy is one of the most important variables determining his behavior. Thus, attitudes towards political and economic change,<sup>1</sup> and towards governmental regulations<sup>2</sup> have been shown to be closely related to class identification. Child-rearing practices seem to follow class lines more closely than color lines,<sup>3</sup> and the language development of children reveals a marked relationship to socio-economic status.<sup>4</sup> School achievement correlates positively with socio-economic status.<sup>5</sup>

Personality factors have also been shown to covary with status. Maddy found children from professional families to be more dominant, extroverted, and emotionally stable, whereas children from semi-skilled families had more worries.<sup>6</sup> The characteristic conflicts of middle class male children, and the neurotic outcomes towards which

they are predisposed, have been analyzed by Green.<sup>7</sup> Davis has contributed an excellent discussion of the effect of class position on socialization,<sup>8</sup> and stresses the differences in aggressiveness, as do others.<sup>9</sup> Verbal behavior also appears to have status implications.<sup>10</sup> A brief summary of some of the more important class differences may be found in a recent volume by Sorokin.<sup>11</sup>

The conclusion appears justified that social status has fairly clear influences on personality and behavior. As Murphy says, the social classes show distinct psychological cleavage, or discontinuity, and these cleavages are reflected in personality structure.<sup>12</sup> The personality factors relating to status levels will not, of course, include all personality traits. Most persons in any society will have certain modal traits in common, certain other traits in common with only a specific group, and finally certain purely individual

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Centers, "The American Class Structure," (in) *Readings in Social Psychology*, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartly, editor (New York: Holt, 1947), pp. 481-493.

<sup>2</sup> C. Wright Mills, "The Middle Classes in Middle-Sized Cities," *American Sociological Review* XI, (1946), 520-529.

<sup>3</sup> W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1947), pp. 216-218.

<sup>4</sup> Dorothea McCarthy, "Language Development in Children," (in) *Manual of Child Psychology*, Leonard Charnichael, editor (New York: Wiley, 1946), pp. 476-581.

<sup>5</sup> Harrison G. Gough, "The Relationship of Socio-Economic Status to Personality Inventory and Achievement Test Scores," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXXVII (1946), 527-540.

<sup>6</sup> Nancy R. Maddy, "Comparison of Children's Personality Traits, Attitudes, and Intelligence with Parental Occupation," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXVII (1943), 3-65.

<sup>7</sup> Arnold W. Green, "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, XI (1946), 31-41.

<sup>8</sup> Allison Davis, "Child Training and Social Class," (in) *Child Behavior and Development*, Roger G. Barker, Jacob S. Kounin, and Herbert F. Wright, editors (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1943), pp. 607-620.

<sup>9</sup> Neal E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, p. 242. The areas in which middle class persons are most apt to respond aggressively, as a consequence of cultural sensitization, are analyzed by Talcott Parsons, "Certain Primary Sources and Patterns of Aggression in the Social Structure of the Western World," *Psychiatry*, X (1947), 167-181.

<sup>10</sup> T. H. Pear, "Personality in its Cultural Context," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXX (October, 1946), p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 443-444.

<sup>12</sup> Gardner Murphy, *Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 755.

traits.<sup>13</sup> If these may be called general, group, and specific traits, those relating to socio-economic status would be classified as group traits.

In spite of the findings of the studies cited, and many more unmentioned, it may justifiably be said that the implications of the social status concept for sociology and social psychology have scarcely been realized. Except for the defining indices of class membership, and certain very general characteristics which pertain to such membership, little is actually known about socio-economic status and personality structure. What is needed is empirically derived information sufficiently systematic and exact to permit the inference of certain group traits from the fact of class membership. It is felt that the inter-relationships between status and personality are imperative enough to make possible such specific inferences; the contention is that once an individual has been assigned to a status level, it may be asserted with known probability that he will possess the group traits common to that level.

The point may perhaps be clarified by reference to the field of psychopathology. In the case of the psychiatric diagnostic entities, such as hysteria, there are a number of behaviors (symptoms) which are characteristically interrelated. Some of these, in general those which have been identified for the longest time, are more or less defining; that is, a minimum of certain such symptoms will suffice for the assignation of the subject to the class *hysteria*. Other symptoms, in general those which have most recently been identified, are not usually accepted as defining or diagnostic, but are considered as corroborative factors. For example, a paralyzed arm with negative neurological findings, etc., in a subject for whom the paralysis could serve as a respectable resolution of a serious conflict, might well be called an instance of hysteria. If, in addition, the patient displayed a seeming lack of concern over his disability, maintained a cheerful, but rather unrealistic optimism about himself and others, and

resisted quite strongly the suggestion that any of his problems had any psychogenic components, our confidence in the diagnosis would be enhanced.

Even if these latter features were not investigated, the psychopathologist would feel quite comfortable in asserting that such traits, as well as others, would be found more often than not if the original diagnosis was accurate. Thus, there are a number of traits included within the class designated hysteria, and once a subject has been assigned to this class according to certain identifying properties, the presence of other related traits may safely be inferred. The general argument could, of course, be more clearly established by recourse to disease entities in organic medicine where the appropriate properties have been clearly delineated. However, it is felt that psychopathological concepts, being based almost entirely on behavioral observations, are more similar to sociological concepts, such as status position, and hence more enlightening.

The objection could now be raised that psychopathological concepts may indeed permit the inferring of other attributes once some have been demonstrated, but that such concepts are fundamentally different from sociological concepts, which do not possess this characteristic. Concepts of the former type have a very slight social reference, and are primarily defined by the very clusterings of behavior which are being discussed. Gross questions, such as deviancy or non-deviancy, have a large social reference, but the more precise question of a diagnosis is dependent upon the organization and interrelationship of a number of personality factors. In the case of sociological concepts, the bases for classification are much more largely in the responses of others,<sup>14</sup> stimulated by quite manifest cues, and are not primarily related to factors of personality structure. In short, a person is assigned to the psychiatric class *hysteria* only after certain characteristics

<sup>13</sup> Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1945), p. 130.

<sup>14</sup> It is understood that all the classifications depend, basically, upon the responses of others. However, in hysteria, the emphasis is on what the patient does, whereas in status the emphasis is on what others do.



have been discovered in his personality structure; a person is assigned to the class *high socio-economic* status by the presence of various economic and social facts. The assigning in the first case is made only after intensive study of the individual by experts; in the second case it is made easily and quickly by peers.

The fact that there is a sociological difference in the processes by which persons are classified in the two cases mentioned above must be admitted. However, it does not necessarily follow that the value of the concepts in both cases, that of indicating concomitant properties which will be found in conjunction with certain defining properties in some given degree, must be different. There seems to be good reason to believe, on the other hand, that certain personality characteristics are related to socio-economic status and that once a subject is properly classified according to the usual indices of status, these personality aspects are discoverable.

Sociologists in general have been aware of such psychological factors as being common to primary groups, and other membership groups, but have not, apparently, been so clearly aware of them in relation to reference groups. Cantril, for example, states that studies attempting to show personality trait differences between liberals and conservatives have not resulted in any "unequivocally positive conclusions."<sup>15</sup> The failure to find such differences is probably not so much due to an absence of personality factors associated with reference group identification as to the tendency to use personality scales which were devised with completely different measurement problems in view. If the aim is to discover personality factors associated with sociological categories, scales designed to detect neuroticism, maladjustment, etc., are not the method of choice.<sup>16</sup> A better technique

is the systematic analysis of a large number of factors, either items of verbal behavior or of personal history, to select those which will reliably discriminate the criterion group.<sup>17</sup> If such a procedure does yield a set of personality variables, then it may be said that the distinguished factors are the ones characteristic of the group studied.

The remainder of this paper will be concerned with an investigation such as this. A set of items will be presented which contain no reference whatsoever to socio-economic status, and yet constitute reliable predictors of status. These items form a scale, which may be called a new dimension of status because it has not previously been recognized that certain personality factors are so characteristically aligned with status.

#### METHOD

The basic technique in this study was the individual analysis of a large number of personality inventory items to select those which would reliably separate high and low status persons. The pool of items was drawn from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI),<sup>18</sup> providing 550 items for consideration. This test is particularly useful for an investigation such as this, inasmuch as it offers internal checks on the accuracy of response,<sup>19</sup> and does not depend upon the

Monachesi, "Some Personality Characteristics of Delinquents and Non-Delinquents," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXXVIII (1948), pp. 487-500.

<sup>15</sup> Cyril Burt's statement may be noted in this regard, "... in the present state of knowledge one of the most valuable approaches to the psychological study of personality ... lies not in brilliant or intuitive observations and classifications, nor even in experiments and formal testing, but in patient statistical analysis and proof." Cyril Burt, "The Assessment of Personality," *Egyptian Journal of Psychology*, II (1946), p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Starke R. Hathaway and J. Charnley McKinley, *Manual for the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1943).

<sup>17</sup> Malingering may be detected fairly readily on the MMPI. See: Harrison G. Gough, "Simulated Patterns on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLII (1947), 215-225.

<sup>15</sup> Hadley Cantril, "The Place of Personality in Social Psychology," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXIV (1947), p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> The use of such scales may be indicated in specific cases, such as in testing the hypothesis that delinquency is based upon personality maladjustment. For a recent study on this point see: Elio D.

subject's self-evaluations.<sup>20</sup> These advantages stem from the rigorous empiricism employed in the test's construction, which will not be discussed.

The test at the present time is scored for twelve variables: (1) K—a scale which identifies "test-taking" attitudes, and affords an index of the degree to which a subject has been guarded and evasive, or overly frank and self-critical in responding;<sup>21</sup> (2) L—a series of items such as "I do not always tell the truth," which will only seldom be answered in the negative direction. A high score on this scale may indicate careless answering, or dissembling; (3) F—consists of items which were very infrequently answered in the scored direction by any of the persons on whom the test was standardized, both normals and hospitalized abnormals. In addition to these three validating scales, there is another check on the accuracy of response, namely the number of question left unanswered; this total is considered as the ? score.

The remaining clinical scales were all based upon item analyses of the responses of diagnosed abnormals: (4) Hs—hypochondriasis; (5) D—depression; (6) Hy—hysteria; (7) Pd—psychopathic deviate; (8) Mf—masculinity-femininity;<sup>22</sup> (9) Pa—paranoia; (10) Pt—psychasthenia; (11) Sc—schizophrenia; and (12) Ma—mania.<sup>23</sup>

All of these variables, as well as a number of others, were considered in relationship to socio-economic status. The other variables compared were the Maslow Security-Insecurity

Inventory,<sup>24</sup> IQ, and three-year high school grade average. Socio-economic status itself was ascertained by means of the Sims Score Cards.<sup>25</sup> The conception of status utilized in this study was that developed in an earlier paper by the writer, namely, "... as a prestige variable dependent upon social and economic factors, which are not configured in any constant manner."<sup>26</sup> The use of a scale score as an index of such a variable would appear thoroughly justifiable in light of the discussions of Lundberg<sup>27</sup> and Chapin.<sup>28</sup>

#### RESULTS

The sample upon which the study was based consisted of 223 high school seniors (90 boys and 133 girls) from a Minnesota community of about 25,000 population. The means and standard deviations for this group on each of the variables studied are given in Table 1. It will be noted that most of the personality inventory means are expressed in T-score units; that is, a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 represent the norms.

Inspection of Table 1 reveals rather pronounced elevations of means on the Pd, Pa, Pt, Sc, and Ma subtests of the MMPI, over one-half of a standard deviation in each case. This may reflect the inapplicability of adult norms to such a group, or it may indicate an actual trend in the present group. Not

<sup>20</sup> Albert H. Maslow, "A Clinically Derived Test for Measuring Psychological Security-Insecurity," *Journal of General Psychology*, XXXIII (1945), 21-41. The scale was used with the new scoring method and norms given in: Harrison G. Gough, "A Note on the Security-Insecurity Inventory," *Journal of Social Psychology* (in press).

<sup>21</sup> Verner M. Sims, *Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic Status* (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1927).

<sup>22</sup> Harrison G. Gough, "The Relationship of Socio-Economic Status to Personality Inventory and Achievement Test Scores," *op. cit.*, p. 528.

<sup>23</sup> George A. Lundberg, "The Measurement of Socio-Economic Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, V (1940), 29-30.

<sup>24</sup> F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 153-154. Chapin states that scales such as the Sims scale "... are tools of observation that can be used without hesitation in sociological research" (p. 153).

<sup>25</sup> Paul E. Meehl, "The Dynamics of Structured Personality Tests," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, I (1945), 296-303.

<sup>26</sup> Paul E. Meehl and Starke R. Hathway, "The K Factor as a Suppressor Variable in the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXX (1946), 525-564.

<sup>27</sup> The scoring key for males was based on the responses of male inverts; the scoring for females is merely the reverse of this.

<sup>28</sup> Besides the keys developed by the authors of the inventory, there has been one described for social introversion. Lewis E. Drake, "A Social I. E. Scale for the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXX (1946), 51-54.

enough research on students has been done with the MMPI to answer this question, but it is highly unlikely that the entire elevation would be due to an artifact of the norms. The grade average is somewhat above a

not clearly high or low status, according to the group norms. Table 2 gives the summary statistics for these two sub-samples, as well as differences between the means and significance tests. It can be seen that the two

TABLE 1. MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR THE TOTAL GROUP (N-223), GIRLS ONLY (N-133), AND BOYS ONLY (N-90), ON THE FOLLOWING FACTORS: SECURITY-INSECURITY SCALE; MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC PERSONALITY INVENTORY (12 SUBSCALES); OTIS INTERMEDIATE IQ; THREE-YEAR HIGH SCHOOL GRADE AVERAGE; AND, SIMS SCORE CARDS (STATUS)

	Total Group		Girls		Boys	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Security-Insecurity	50.00	10.00	50.38	10.13	49.57	9.93
MMPI Scales:						
K	51.25	7.92	50.92	7.80	51.70	8.04
L*	3.92	2.31	4.10	2.24	3.68	2.39
F*	6.23	4.12	5.71	3.91	6.92	4.30
Hs	52.30	9.47	50.28	8.37	54.98	10.20
D	53.46	10.54	51.82	8.95	55.61	12.01
Hy	53.40	8.81	52.25	8.85	54.93	8.52
Pd	58.96	11.39	56.99	11.09	61.58	11.26
Mf	—	—	53.46	9.53	55.63	10.34
Pa	55.43	10.34	54.95	9.82	56.08	10.96
Pt	58.67	11.29	56.69	9.52	61.30	12.82
Sc	60.20	12.39	57.35	9.97	63.98	14.15
Ma	56.99	11.20	55.56	11.32	58.89	10.74
Otis I.Q.	103.36	10.73	102.60	10.27	104.32	11.22
Grade average	2.26	0.66	2.38	0.65	2.10	0.63
Status	16.40	5.41	16.28	5.39	16.58	5.43

\* Raw scores; remaining MMPI scores, as well as S-I scores, are T-scores.

"C" average, where 2.00 represents "C" and 3.00 "B." The status mean is just below the 7th rank in the scale from zero to ten suggested by Sims,<sup>29</sup> and would be placed in the "high" category.

The item analyses were based upon two sub-samples of 38 each, 20 girls and 18 boys, representing the high and low ends of the status continuum respectively. This number of cases was selected in order to give only subjects one standard deviation above or below the group mean; the addition of more cases would have added persons who were

samples were quite well matched on a number of factors, although no attempt was made to equate them except for sex. The only significant differences are those on IQ and grade average, both, in favor of the high status group, and of course on status, the selection variable. These results, incidentally, confirm the statement made previously, that differences between sociologically categorized groups are difficult to establish using personality measures designed for other purposes. None of the thirteen personality factors shows a significant difference.

Item analysis was carried out by comparing the percentage in each of the two sub-samples giving a "true" response to each

<sup>29</sup> Verner M. Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The two sub-samples would rank at the "very high" and "medium" categories suggested by Sims.

TABLE 2. MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, MEAN-DIFFERENCES, AND *t* RATIOS OF THESE DIFFERENCES FOR THE TWO SAMPLES OF 38 EACH (20 GIRLS, 18 BOYS), FOR THE VARIABLES NOTED

	High Status		Low Status		Diff.	<i>t</i> **
	M	SD	M	SD		
Security-Insecurity	47.43	9.74	49.84	9.84	-2.41	1.04
Multiphasic:						
K	53.87	8.79	51.08	5.95	2.79	1.60
L*	3.55	2.18	4.50	2.21	-0.95	1.85
F*	5.26	4.02	6.32	3.55	-1.06	1.19
Hs	52.37	7.50	51.16	10.93	1.21	0.56
D	52.74	11.12	54.03	11.69	-1.29	0.49
Hy	55.26	8.17	52.76	7.80	2.50	1.35
Pd	59.32	9.85	57.95	11.21	1.37	0.56
(girls) Mf	53.20	10.25	57.15	10.53	-3.95	1.17
(boys) Mf	58.83	10.05	53.89	11.87	4.94	1.31
Pa	55.55	9.90	56.29	13.52	-0.74	0.27
Pt	59.95	10.90	61.45	12.27	-1.50	0.56
Sc	59.32	10.52	63.34	15.95	-4.02	1.28
Ma	59.13	11.57	57.21	10.60	1.92	0.74
Otis I.Q.	109.24	11.95	99.10	9.62	10.14	4.02
Grade average	2.54	0.75	2.02	0.52	0.52	3.46
Status	24.79	1.04	9.84	1.84	14.95	42.92

\* Raw scores used instead of T-scores.

\*\* A *t* value of 2.58 is significant at the one per cent level, and of 1.96 at the five per cent level.

question. The differences between the two percentages were evaluated by means of the *phi* coefficients,<sup>30</sup> and those items differentiating at the one or two per cent levels were retained. These items, the direction of scoring for high status, and their critical ratios are given in Table 3.

Inspection of these items suggests that they may be grouped under five general categories: (1) Literary-esthetic attitudes, items 78, 126, 149, and 204; (2) Social poise, security, confidence in self and others, items 136, 138, 180, 229, 237, 267, 280, 304, 452, and 521; (3) Denial of fears and anxieties, items 213, 352, 365, 388, 448, and 480; (4) "Broad-minded," "emancipated," and "frank" attitudes towards moral, religious, and sexual matters, items 118, 199, 249, 297, 314, 324, 378, 427, 430, 441, and 488; and (5) Positive, dogmatic, "self-righteous"

opinions, items 289, 491, 513. These groupings have been qualitatively derived, and it is possible that formal mathematical analysis might reveal different clusters; nevertheless, the categories listed do seem to possess internal consistency and meaningfulness.

It is probably not surprising to find sets of items relating to social skills and to lack of worry and fears appearing. Upper class persons lead a more secure existence in many ways, and also have more opportunities to develop poise and proper social behavior. On the other hand, the apparent paradox of urbane, liberated attitudes coadunated with a sort of pompous and rigid dogmatism may not have been so obvious. Such contradictions in the status folkways may underly the inconsistent behavior which high status persons often display in regard to social and political affairs. Further implications of the items will be developed in a later paper.

These 34 items were then assembled as a scale, and the original group of 223 test

<sup>30</sup> Clifford E. Jurgensen, "Table for Determining Phi Coefficients," *Psychometrika*, XII (1947), 17-29.

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TABLE 3. PERSONALITY INVENTORY ITEMS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW STATUS HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Item Number in MMPI Group Form	Item	Answered by High Status Group as:	Critical Ratio
78.	I like poetry.	true	3.226
118.	In school I was sometimes sent to the principal for cutting up.	true	3.034
126.	I like dramatics.	true	2.624
136.	I commonly wonder what hidden reason another person may have for doing something nice for me.	false	2.807
138.	Criticism or scolding hurts me terribly.	false	2.572
149.	I used to keep a diary.	true	2.598
180.	I find it hard to make talk when I meet new people.	false	3.077
199.	Children should be taught all the main facts of sex.	true	3.426
204.	I would like to be a journalist.	true	3.553
213.	In walking I am very careful to step over sidewalk cracks.	false	2.737
229.	I should like to belong to several clubs or lodges.	true	2.798
237.	My relatives are nearly all in sympathy with me.	true	2.746
249.	I believe there is a Devil and a Hell in after life.	false	2.746
267.	When in a group of people I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.	false	2.964
280.	Most people make friends because friends are likely to be useful to them.	false	2.528
289.	I am always disgusted with the law when a criminal is freed through the arguments of a smart lawyer.	true	2.546
297.	I wish I were not bothered by thoughts about sex.	false	3.391
304.	In school I found it very hard to talk before the class.	false	2.807
314.	Once in a while I think of things too bad to talk about.	false	3.226
324.	I have never been in love with anyone.	false	2.580
352.	I have been afraid of things or people that I knew could not hurt me.	false	3.426
365.	I feel uneasy indoors.	false	2.615
378.	I do not like to see women smoke.	false	2.781
388.	I am afraid to be alone in the dark.	false	2.816
427.	I am embarrassed by dirty stories.	false	2.703
430.	I am attracted by members of the opposite sex.	true	2.493
441.	I like tall women.	true	3.260
448.	I am bothered by people outside, on streetcars, in stores, etc., watching me.	false	3.304
452.	I like to poke fun at people.	true	2.528
480.	I am often afraid of the dark.	false	2.816
488.	I pray several times every week.	false	3.025
491.	I have no patience with people who believe there is only one true religion.	true	2.833
513.	I think Lincoln was greater than Washington.	true	2.485
521.	In a group of people I would not be embarrassed to be called upon to start a discussion or give an opinion about something I know well.	true	3.679

papers were rescored on this basis. The obtained mean was 17.43, and the standard deviation 4.783; for the girls alone, the values were 17.496 and 5.058, respectively, and for the boys 17.354 and 4.440. The corrected split-half reliability for the total group was .739, with a standard error of .065. The test-retest correlation for a smaller sample of 101 students was .869, standard error .100. This latter value may be taken as a better index of reliability, according to Chapin's

discussion,<sup>31</sup> and also falls above the value of .80 which he suggests as a lower limit for reliability. It appears, then, that these items do show enough consistency to be considered as a scale.

The validity of the scale is determined by the degree to which it will predict its criterion, socio-economic status as measured by

<sup>31</sup> F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, op. cit., p. 154.

an objective index. For the original group of 223 students the correlation between St (status) and the Sims Score Cards was .676, standard error .07; for girls only the correlation was .708, SE .09, and for the boys the correlation was .634, SE .11. These correlations are again in the optimum range recommended by Chapin for validity coefficients.<sup>32</sup> For the two subsamples used in the item analysis, the means and standard deviations were 22.79 and 3.27 for the high status group, and 12.53 and 3.38 for the low; the mean difference was 10.26, and the *t* ratio of this difference was 13.26.

The St scale was next administered to a new high school class of 263 students (140 boys, 123 girls), and was compared to a different index of socio-economic status, the American Home Scale.<sup>33</sup> The latter scale was used in order to determine whether the St scale was capable of predicting socio-economic status as measured by other scales than the Sims. The correlation between St and AHS for the entire group was .500, SE .06, for the girls only .512, SE .09, and for the boys only .490, SE .08. These results indicate that the St scale has validity which is not limited entirely to the population and specific measurements from which it was derived.<sup>34</sup>

The St scale may be used as a separate test, in which case the 34 items are presented to the subject with two alternatives (true or false), and he is instructed to choose whichever is more applicable; or, it may be used in conventional MMPI testing by merely constructing an additional scoring plate using the item numbers provided in Table 3. In either case, the norms given in Table 4 may be used. These norms are based entirely upon a sample of senior high school students from a small Midwestern city and may not be appropriate for other populations.

Users of the scale should observe proper cautions, especially in regard to adult populations.

TABLE 4. T-SCORE CONVERSION TABLE BASED UPON 486 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS (256 GIRLS, 230 BOYS)

Raw Score	T-Score	Raw Score	T-Score
34	86	16	46
33	84	15	44
32	82	14	42
31	80	13	40
30	78	12	38
29	75	11	35
28	73	10	33
27	71	9	31
26	69	8	29
25	66	7	27
24	64	6	24
23	62	5	22
22	60	4	20
21	58	3	18
20	55	2	15
19	53	1	13
18	51	0	11
17	49		

\* High scores refer to high status, low scores to low status.

#### SUMMARY

The development of a new kind of scale for socio-economic status has been described. This scale consists entirely of items drawn from a personality inventory, and contains no overt references to status whatsoever. Inspection of the items suggests that they fall into five general groups: literary-esthetic attitudes; social poise, security, confidence in self and others; denial of fears and anxieties; "broad-minded," "emancipated," and "frank" attitudes towards moral, religious, and sexual matters; and positive, dogmatic, and self-righteous opinions. The tested reliability of the scale as a whole appeared to be satisfactory, and its validity in the original and in a test sample was demonstrated.

These results tend to substantiate the argument advanced in the first part of this paper. There are certain personality factors characteristically related to sociological categories; once these personality factors have been empirically isolated they may be presumed to be present in some degree among

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>33</sup> W. A. Kerr and H. H. Remmers, *Manual for the American Home Scale* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1942).

<sup>34</sup> There is some reason to believe that this new scale will not hold up as well for college groups; the research pertaining to this problem will be reported in a subsequent paper.

persons assignable to the class according to some other defining property. The argument is not in favor of an Aristotelian dichotomy, or even for a typology as ordinarily understood. The personality traits which can be demonstrated to align themselves with status are not the only traits which will be pos-

sessed by an individual classified with reference to status; as indicated above, there will be general group, and specific traits in each case. It is the task of empirical analysis to establish the particular cluster of personality factors related to a given sociologically-defined category.

## NEGRO LIFEWAYS IN THE RURAL SOUTH: A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION\*

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### I

CONCEPTS and hypotheses used to describe and orient Negro status levels and relationships in American social structure have been subjected to general and almost incessant attack. It is quite possible that indecision in systematic theory resulting from this has been an important drag factor in both research and policy.<sup>1</sup> As matters now stand, conventional constructs are tarnished, but little effort has been given to attempts going beyond immediate and chronic controversy to project a theoretical framework orienting Negro status variations in ways sufficiently plastic to encourage extensive and concerted inquiry.

Myrdal, recognizing this construct problem, weighed alternatives openly before accepting caste as a basic systematic tool. He wrote:

Emancipation stopped the practice of calling Negroes "slaves." For a while "freedmen" or "ex-slaves" were popular, but some general term was needed to describe the inferior status of Negroes. "Caste," in use before the Civil War, was increasingly employed. "Race" and "class" were often used as alternatives. The former is inappropriate since it has biological and genetic connotations incorrect in this context which are

particularly dangerous since they run parallel to widespread, false racial beliefs. The latter is confusing since it is generally used to refer to a non-rigid status group from which an individual can rise or fall. There is class differentiation within white and Negro societies. When used to indicate differences between them, "class" is apt to blur a significant distinction between the two types of social differences. "Minority group" and "minority status" are impractical since they do not distinguish between temporary disabilities among recent white immigrants and permanent disabilities of colored people.<sup>2</sup>

Caste—used definitively or figuratively—has in the last decade been the prevailing general term for sociological description of Negro-white interracial status patterns in the United States, class for description of intraracial status variations. Modern interest in the combination of caste and class into one frame of reference stems directly from W. L. Warner's brief schematic presentation of theory conceptualizing Negro-white status patterns in a town in the Deep South.<sup>3</sup> His device has served as a point of departure for

\*Abridged from Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944), p. 667.

<sup>1</sup>W. L. Warner, "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1936), 234-237. It is in keeping here to recall the earlier ideal of "parallelism" and the many articles written on status by Robert E. Park, particularly his "Bases of Race Prejudice," *Annals*, CXL (1928), 11-20 and his introduction, approximately of the period of Warner's article, to B. W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

\* Manuscript received March 9, 1948.

<sup>2</sup>See M. F. Ashley Montagu, "The Nature of Race Relations," *Social Forces*, XXV (1947), 336-342; E. F. Frazier, "Sociological Theory of Race Relations," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 265-271; E. B. Reuter, "Racial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 452-461.

description of colorline and intracategory stratification as well as for analysis of immediate fluctuations in amity-discord between racial units and longtime trends in Negro acculturation. As a very simple and general heuristic device, the Warner schematization could not focus sharply on the nature and interrelationships of specific Negro or white status units. In addition to inviting many questions about the general nature of racial status variations, it has, however, seemed to stimulate and to orient research on these very problems.<sup>4</sup>

The caste concept developed by Warner and his associates has been sharply attacked elsewhere on what seem to be both operational and ideological grounds. The most prolific and emphatic opponent of its use has been Oliver C. Cox, though he has had considerable support.<sup>5</sup> Controversies at this point are, partially because of semantic problems and emotional charge, hard to follow. Presumably to quell the type of criticism Cox had made, Warner paused in a later

study to state his position carefully, holding "By use of the term 'caste' I do not imply that caste is a permanent part of our society. Since our society is a changing one, it is clear that this system must change too. My intent is to identify it accurately and to improve our theoretical insight—to place it in its proper perspective."<sup>6</sup>

Obviously, the applicability of the Warner hypothesis in American social systems calls for proof. Park ten years ago questioned the equal relevance of caste as a descriptive tool in agricultural and industrial settings. As he saw it,

"The social order which emerged (in the South) with the abolition of slavery was a system of caste—caste based on race and color. The plantation had been organized on the pattern of a familial and feudal, rather than of a civil and political, society. Caste was the form which race relations took under the system which the plantation imposed. . . . Although caste still persists and serves in a way to regulate race relations, many things—education, the rise within the Negro community of a professional class (teachers, ministers, and physicians) and of an intelligentsia seeking to organize and direct the Negro's rising race consciousness—have conspired not merely to undermine the traditional caste system, but to render it obsolete. . . .

The restrictions on marriage still persist and continue to make of the Negro an endogamous social group, in much the same sense that the Jews, the Mennonites, and any of the more primitive religious sects are endogamous. On the other hand, in view of the fact that he has developed a society in which all of the professions and many, if not most, occupations are represented, the Negro has an opportunity now, which he did not have earlier, to rise within the limits of the Negro world. Under those circumstances the Negro group has gradually ceased to exhibit the characteristics of a caste and has assumed rather the character of a racial or national minority."<sup>7</sup>

It was of course interest in evidence concerning this very situation which led Warner

<sup>4</sup> See Allison Davis, Burleigh B., and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); St. Clair Drake and H. R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1945); W. L. Warner, B. H. Junker, and W. A. Adams, *Color and Human Nature* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1941). It seems significant to note that important parts of these studies have won acceptance and use from scholars who registered dissent on the theory implicit and explicit in Warner's diagrammatic representation and its original documentation. Compare Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up In the Black Belt* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1941), pp. 325-327, with the same author's later *Patterns of Racial Segregation* (New York: Harper, 1943), p. 132ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cox's sharpest drawn comment appears in his "The Modern Caste School of Race Relations," *Social Forces*, XXI (1943), 218-226. For supporting articles see his "An American Dilemma—A Mystical Approach to the Study of Race Relations," *Journal of Negro Education*, XIV (1945), 132-148; "Race and Caste: A Distinction," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 360-368; "Class and Caste: A Definition and Distinction," *Journal of Negro Education*, XIII (1944), 139-149; "The Nature of Race Relations: A Critique," *Journal of Negro Education*, XVI (1947), 506-510. For related comment see M. R. Brooks, "American Caste and Class: An Appraisal," *Social Forces*, XXV (1946), 207-211.

<sup>6</sup> *Black Metropolis*, p. 745. For a detailed rebuttal to Cox, see N. D. Humphrey, "American Race Relations and the Caste System," *Psychiatry*, VIII (1945), 379-381.

<sup>7</sup> B. W. Doyle, *op. cit.*, pp. xv-xvi, xxi-xxii.



and his associates to undertake, more or less as a sequel to *Deep South*, a metropolitan study.<sup>8</sup> There was at least one important difference in these two projects: the latter was restricted to the study of relationships *within* the Negro community. Even though this meant treatment of the white society in terms principally inferential, the authors were led to retain the theory of caste as an orienting interracial interaction construct. Warner writes,

"This evidence strongly supports the hypothesis that, while there is a noticeable difference between *Deep South* and *Black Metropolis*—a great improvement in the status of the Negro and an increasing assurance that he will continue to advance—nevertheless, the *type* of status relations controlling Negroes and whites remains the same and continues to keep the Negro in an inferior and restricted position. He cannot climb into the higher group although he can climb higher in his own group. Legally, he is permitted to marry across the color line, but there is very little intermarriage. The children of such marriages are always Negro and suffer, as do their parents, the restrictions and deprivations of the Negro caste. The rewards and punishments, the rights and duties, knowledges and advantages are unequally distributed. In short there is still a status system of the caste type. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

Yet, the very detail of *Black Metropolis*, the notable differences which are well documented, leads one to wonder if in Chicago the principle of caste in Warner's own terms, defined as it must be in the context of interracial interaction, universally applies. Could it be that this caste pattern of social sanctions is quite rigidly enforced in interracial interaction between representatives of given status units in the white and in the black society, and that it tends to dissolve or at least to be significantly transformed when other peoples meet? Could it be that status variance in American race relations now demands going far beyond simple, inclusive constructs to place attention on specific patterns of segregation which, even if Warner's

core assumption applies, may have differences more marked than their similarities? Might quest along such lines point the way by which Warner's idea of presently operating but not necessarily eternal caste relationships may be altered? In reference to such questions, how might dimensions of social structure, essential status units, and relating interaction patterns be conceived? It is research along this line of conjecture which focuses the present interest. Before data are explored, a word of methodology is in order.

## II

It is axiomatic in science that research or theory which is not systematically grounded in its propositional stages usually turns out to be futile, since it so easily can run to the four winds and end up nowhere.<sup>10</sup> Lest the present attempt rather soon appear to be mere exercise in the manufacture of new Gargantuas to march along in the shadows of "economic man" and "political man," explicit reference is needed here for what is meant by typology and where it is conceived to enter in scientific operations.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The literature of race relations runs through every conceivable pattern, but even that presumably scientific not infrequently demonstrates definition in terms of no systematic tenets, scientific or otherwise. See L. H. Lanier, "Mr. Dollard and the Scientific Method," *Southern Review*, III (1939), 657-672. Indeed, as matters now stand there is no unanimity concerning the very premises which determine the limits of social science in race relations. Modern controversy on this point centers principally on Myrdal's "American Creed," a telic values scheme presented as the American ethos. See the Nettler-Rose exchange, *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 686; X (1945), 560, and Nettler's recent rebuttal: "Toward a Definition of a Sociologist," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 555-558. See also L. P. Crespi, "Is Gunnar Myrdal on the Right Track?," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, IX (1945), 201-12.

<sup>11</sup> The "Gargantua effect" of "economic man" has come as much from lifting the idea as a "thing" in and of itself out of its intended frame of reference as from the rational premises of the classical economists. While definitive categorical schemes and concepts may be scientific devices to some people in a very limited range of discourse, they can in the hands of zealots easily be controverted into weapons. Perhaps some of the bitter protests regarding use of caste as a descriptive scientific tool stems from the

<sup>8</sup> *Black Metropolis*. Note particularly Warner's remarks, pp. 769-782.

<sup>9</sup> *Black Metropolis*, p. 781.

Typology in present use refers to a technique for establishing hypothetical categories useful both as tools in guiding conceptualization in areas of social phenomena where they have reference and in analyzing the effects of change upon their pattern.<sup>12</sup> Such categories or "types" in themselves are constructs of the investigator, obtained by abstracting from the data of concrete cases and defining as succinctly as possible an attribute or a series of attributes as a pattern which can be held to be pertinent in the manipulation of particular problems.<sup>13</sup> The basic premise involved in assumption and scientific use of typological devices is that formal abstractions derived by attempt to characterize "pure" or extremely accentuated forms—even though the type, thus identified, is nowhere found in nature—may be valuable

guides for orienting empirical study. Observed cases may be conceived as ordered along lines extending through these pure type reference points. These points and lines as heuristic devices can be used to structure hypotheses concerning the effects of variation or changes among real cases.

Burgess and Locke, who have used typological constructs to orient study of the American family system, have indicated that it is important to emphasize and then to emphasize again the point that types, so distinguished, are fictional representations evolved by conceptualizing extreme or sharply accentuated instances as datum points in theory and that they are useful only as constructs in terms of which concrete phenomena can be analyzed and measured.<sup>14</sup> The simplest forms of such referents are polar conceptions: primary and secondary groups,<sup>15</sup> introversion and extroversion,<sup>16</sup> stationary and changing,<sup>17</sup> or sacred and secular<sup>18</sup> societies. These permit examination of data as located between logical extremes. In other instances type constructs may be conceived as

fear that general acceptance of the idea might lead to rationalizations attempting to enforce the differentiation so described.

<sup>12</sup> E. W. Burgess specifies "ideal" type in this context after the precedent of Max Weber; Howard Becker similarly refers to "constructed" types. In one place Becker has explained this usage as a basis for explicit exception to the normative implications of the word, "ideal"; elsewhere, he has given this explanation slightly different cast. See Burgess, "Research Methods in Sociology" in G. Gurvitch and W. E. Moore, *Twentieth Century Sociology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 30; H. E. Barnes, et al., *Contemporary Social Theory* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940), p. 30; Becker's "Interpretative Sociology and Constructive Typology" in Gurvitch and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Neither modifier is used here on grounds that description itself must provide adequate identification.

<sup>13</sup> See Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30, and Svend Riemer, "The 'Ideal Type' in Criminological Research" in W. C. Reckless, *The Etiology of Delinquent and Criminal Behavior* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1943), pp. 138-41. Note also Becker's direct definitions: "The constructed type is a conscious, planned selection, combination, and accentuation of 'the empirically given,' relatively free from value judgment"—Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 45; "Such types are made up of criteria which have discoverable referents in the empirical world or can be legitimately inferred from empirical evidence, or both. The construction of these types should always take place in relation to an explicit problem and should be oriented toward a clear-cut hypothesis; the type of highest usefulness is not merely classificatory," Gurvitch and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, *The Family* (New York: American Book Company 1945), pp. 754-757. Elsewhere, Burgess has outlined the thesis that typological constructs may orient continuum scaling experiments. See Gurvitch and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 28ff. Such "pure" or extremely accentuated types crop up in use in widely varying areas of knowledge. For a well-known example, pure types are the very essence of animal judging where concrete cases are measured against hypothetical criteria of breed to judge "best of breed" or the class winners are rated according to approximation to their own class ideals to determine honors of "best of show."

<sup>15</sup> Ellsworth Faris, "Primary Groups—Essence and Accident," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (1932), 41-50.

<sup>16</sup> E. Heidebreder, "Measuring Introversion and Extroversion," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXI (1926), 120-34.

<sup>17</sup> W. F. Ogburn, "Stationary and Changing Societies," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1936), 16-31; see also Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society and Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1940), 731-42; Louis Wirth, "The Urban Society and Civilization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1940), 743-55.

<sup>18</sup> Howard Becker and Rueben Hill, *Marriage and the Family* (Boston: Heath, 1942), pp. 12-14.

located not only at the extremes but as internal reference points in social space. The present paper will attempt use of type constructs oriented in this fashion.

### III

In ultimate analysis, status in the United States acquires its meaning from the given social contexts of specific communities. Adequate research foundation is available for the premise that both the criteria of status and its possible dimensions and patterns vary with the design of community organization.<sup>19</sup> Charles S. Johnson has devoted *Patterns of Racial Segregation* to documentation of community variations in the meanings given "place" in racial etiquette and taboo. To make any systematic approach to questions of Negro—for that matter, white—status it seems essential at the outset, therefore, to refine the general concept of "American society" as a frame of reference for status analysis into more specifically dimensioned interactional fields permitting the grouping and contrast of these local patterns.

The authors of the American Council on Education's studies of Negro youth, faced with this same need, developed simple attributes of economy and location into a structuring device which set the stage for illuminating contrasts.<sup>20</sup> Economy was developed in these studies to make a simple

division between agricultural and non-agricultural or rural and urban living; location to effect a threefold areal distinction: Southern, Border, and Northern.<sup>21</sup> By combination, six quite specific interactional fields in which to examine status levels and relationships were established: agricultural and non-agricultural economies in the Southern, Border, and Northern areas. Accepting this pattern of organization the typological problem at hand is to determine what levels of white and Negro status can and do exist in each of these categories, how they are organized in social structure, and what specific patterns of relationship combine all indigenous status levels in given community structure. The approach can be illustrated by establishing the status types or lifestay patterns appearing in any one economy-location bracket. In doing this below the question of the utility of the "caste concept is not only begged, since only Negro lifestay patterns are considered, but the field of interaction chosen for description happens to be the one where such sanctions might most obviously apply. The position can, even by this limited development, suggest the importance of relating specific status levels *before* such an overall concept as caste can acquire definite conceptual content and it might imply that in

<sup>19</sup> See Earl H. Bell, "Social Stratification in a Small Community," *Scientific Monthly*, XXXVIII (1934), 157-164; C. R. Jones, "Social Stratification in the Negro Population of a Small Southern Town," *Journal of Negro Education*, XV (1946), 4-12; M. C. Hill, "A Comparative Analysis of Social Organization in the All Negro Society of Oklahoma," *Social Forces*, XXV (1946), 70-77; E. A. Schuler, "Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hill Community," *Rural Sociology*, V (1940), 69-85; John Useem, Pierre Tanget and Ruth Unseeb, "Stratification in a Prairie Town," *American Sociological Review* VII (1942), 331-342.

<sup>20</sup> See R. L. Sutherland, *Color, Class, and Personality* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1942), p. 5. Charles S. Johnson has since developed this same classificatory scheme more fully. See *Patterns of Racial Segregation*, p. 44ff. If Myrdal had weighed the implications of this previous work, the logic of one "American Creed" might have been severely shaken.

<sup>21</sup> There is a question of course of how sharply such classification might be drawn. In the South, at least, there might be value in breaking the economy criterion into rural, town, and city. In the American Council of Education studies, "Northern" as an areal category is indefinite by definition, meaning all of the United States except the South and its marginal fringe. The question is whether Negroes in Chicago or Detroit and in Seattle, Los Angeles, or Denver face situations similar enough for lumped consideration. The present distribution of the Negro population in the United States might permit "Northern" as one universe, but there is some recent dissenting evidence which might demand adoption of something like the regional system H. W. Odum has popularized through his *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934). For the dissenting evidence see R. W. O'Brien and L. M. Brooks, "Race Relations in the Pacific Northwest," *Phylon*, VII (1946), 21-31, and T. H. Kennedy, "Racial Tensions Among Negroes in the Intermountain Northwest," *Phylon*, VII (1946), 358-364.

other interactional fields—for example, metropolitan settings—relations between certain classes—for instance, white and Negro intelligentsia—*might* be of a different order of relationships.

Considerable analysis contributing to this patterning of social theory is available, but it seems that any direct assessment of the utility of a caste concept in American race relations by such means is now handicapped by the fact that even in the Old South existing status levels and lifeway patterns as personal adaptations to status matrices have been much more clearly conceptualized for the American Negro than for the American white society. At least two outstanding exceptions to this generalization deserve immediate mention. The first is Edgar T. Thompson's work, particularly on the planter class in southern rural society.<sup>22</sup> The other appears in a fragment John M. MacLachlan once published on the poor white.<sup>23</sup> The definition of status differences and the conceptualization of lifeway patterns in the rural South reflect the central significant of economic referents. MacLachlan made a very pointed criticism on their overemphasis implicit in loose use of the term "poor white." By use of four cases, all sub-marginal economically, he identified four distinct lifeway patterns: decadent gentry, yeoman, croppers, and trash—three "poor—but folks," one "trash"—and concluded,

Which of them would acknowledge which other to be 'poor white,' one can guess. . . . In a strictly arithmetic sense they are an economic class; in a realistic sociological sense they are something fully different; something not easy to describe except in terms of themselves.

Before questions of Negro status in the rural South can be directly approached a second order categorization for the economy-

location frame of reference is needed: there is no general Southern rural economy. Differences among Southern agricultural economies are far more dramatic than their similarities. When Charles S. Johnson attempted to analyze the status of Southern rural Negro youth, he isolated for contrast five quite distinct but not necessarily inclusive Southern agricultural patterns. These can be labelled active plantation, declining plantation, single crop non-plantation, diversified farming, and urban dominated area types.<sup>24</sup> Use of Johnson's system of sub-categorization permits direct orientation of questions concerning the patterns of living which social organization in these area types permit, ones which they share, and how these status units combine in social structure. For any areal type the correlation of such patterns in the Negro and in the white society and the measurement of given populations in relation to such norms should provide the key for adequate sociological description of what patterns race relations in these settings take and what they mean. In this orientation each lifeway pattern would appear in accentuation as a linked values system developed through exposure to certain of these patterns of social organization. These linked values systems would exhibit customs, sanctions, habits, and meanings which in part at least could be made subject of measurement and comparison. The problem anticipated at this point therefore appears to approach the ones somewhat similarly structured by Allport and Vernon and by Lurie in the empirical inspection of Spranger's type theory.<sup>25</sup> An orienting hy-

<sup>22</sup> "These eight counties, when related to groups of counties identified as having similar characteristics, may be said to represent approximately 80% of the rural Negro population of the South. The selection of 'typical' counties in this manner for intensive study serves two important purposes: it makes possible a more intimate description of the social setting of Negro youth included in this study and it provides a statistical frame of reference in which accurate sampling of the total Negro population can be obtained." *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, p. xxii.

<sup>23</sup> G. W. Allport and P. E. Vernon, "A Test for Personal Values," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVI (1931), 231-248; Walter A.

<sup>22</sup> See for example his "The Planter in the Pattern of Race Relations in the South," *Social Forces*, XIX (1940), 244-252; "Purpose and Tradition in Southern Rural Society," *Social Forces*, XXV (1947), 270-280.

<sup>23</sup> "The Poor White," *International Quarterly*, II (1937), 18-21.



pothesis might proceed from assumptions that given patterns of responses might validate these conceptual norms, determine the distribution of given populations in reference to them, measure intervening social distance, achieve some index of the marginality induced by migration from plantation to hamlet or from sea island to city, and through such means by time samples measure adjustment or acculturation in immigrant settings.<sup>26</sup> If the logic holds, the typological orientation might thus lead directly to a factor analysis problem shedding empirical light on the dogma of current caste controversy.

To italicize the problem suggested above, a rather exhaustive run through the literature and some informal field checking encourages the present assumption that there are five distinct Negro lifeways in various Southern agricultural settings which at least as points of departure could be used in working along these lines: those of the peasant, the rural proletariat, the yeoman, the farmer, and the planter. Representatives of these type patterns apparently do not appear in all of the Southern rural economies Johnson has categorized. The yeoman and the farmer patterns are absent in the active plantation area; the planter at least in a single crop, non-plantation area.<sup>27</sup> In the other three

perhaps, all of these five types are represented, but in quite different degrees of approximation and in quite different proportions. A review of these types as they now seem evident may encourage refinement or possibly experimentation with this approach to status differentiation.

*The Negro Peasant.* The way of life of the Negro peasant was set in the extreme cultural isolation of the pre-World War I Southern plantation economy.<sup>28</sup> It represents on one hand an adjustment to the strict economic compulsives placed by a traditional commercial agriculture upon an unskilled and completely dependent labor force and on the other an adaptation to sharply defined racial sanctions imposed by dominant white entrepreneurs—who viewed Negroes primarily as a labor adjunct to civilization, and by subordinate white agricultural classes—who saw Negroes as serfs of the entrepreneurs embodying direct threats to their own precarious systems of livelihood.<sup>29</sup> Under such circumstances the Negro peasant tradition is a crude design for survival.

The peasant owns no land. He has no economic skill beyond the simple habits required for manual production of cotton or of corn,

weighting overlapping influences of trade centers and metropolitan units such as Memphis or New Orleans. Even in the open country neighborhoods of an active plantation area, as in Tunica County, Mississippi, the proximity of a city, in this case Memphis, makes heightened rural-urban contrasts inevitable. Where they are so in the South, there is apt to be both chronic and acute dissatisfactions among whites and Negroes alike with peasant or yeoman roles: good highways, coming as they did in short interval in Mississippi, have engendered profound social impacts by making even Sharkey or Issaquena County plantation cabins next door to Beale Street. Very recently Allen D. Edwards has focused attention on variations among rural communities in structure. See his "Ecological Patterns of American Rural Communities," *Rural Sociology*, XII (1947), 150-161.

<sup>28</sup> The identification of Negro peasant and yeoman traditions appearing here was developed principally from Charles S. Johnson, "The Present Status and Trends of the Negro Family," *Social Forces*, XVI (1937), 247-257, the text of which in instances runs parallel to *Growing Up in the Black Belt*. See also Frank D. Alexander, *Cultural Reconnaissance Survey of Coahoma County, Mississippi* (Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture (BAE), 1944).

<sup>29</sup> W. O. Brown, "The Role of Poor Whites in the Race Contacts of the South," *Social Forces*, XIX (1940), 258-268.

Lurie, "Study of Spranger's Value-Types by the Method of Factor Analysis," *Journal of Social Psychology*, VIII (1937), 17-37.

<sup>26</sup> See E. F. Frazier, "The Impact of Urban Civilization Upon Negro Family Life," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (1937), 376-382; Louise V. Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930); Clyde V. Kiser, *From Sea Island to City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

<sup>27</sup> The sub-categorized location-economy frame of reference used here to set this problem for consideration is simple to locate; I am not at all sure it would be more practical as a research design than a direct community frame of reference which would focus on the rural and urban lifeways functionally interrelated in the status design of the given ecological unit. The community focus might permit more succinct description of the types and also might better isolate significant variables determining the flow of migration streams. The community approach quickly becomes very complex in the South, however, since Southern communities are such variable entities. One runs immediately into questions of

cane, or tobacco. He is completely dependent upon the will of the land owner or his functionaries. This dependence, which no system of AAA checks has materially altered, breeds an insecurity which makes being in debt a major mode of self-preservation. He lives principally by credit advances and seldom settles after a season with enough surplus to live the off months and begin again. Should such a surplus appear, there is little incentive to husband it. His economic role demands labor by whole family units, the larger the better, under conditions permitting practically no specialization or hope for vertical mobility within the system in which his labor and produce are sold.

Social and spiritual satisfactions are geared to this economic plane. Natural marriage is sanctioned. Marital bonds are casually viewed. Families disintegrate easily. Kinship is blurred. Birth, sickness, and death are considered fatalistically. Children and even married adults look to their mother as their one prime guide and sponsor.<sup>30</sup> Religion is tuned to the promised land and the church—the one strong institution indigenous to the peasant culture—provides the one community interest not directly dominated by whites. The rites of the school are perfunctory. It offers no avenue of escape or improvement to the oncoming generation.<sup>31</sup> The school functions for the most part in terms of values wholly external to peasant conditions of living. The school is either owned outright or controlled by the white entrepreneurs who directly or indirectly hire the teachers, fix the length of the school term, and in accord with agriculture's seasonal demands tell it when to keep.

According to any other system of American living, the way of the peasant is nonconventional by obviously strict but inexplicable convention. This has bred the ambivalent darky stereotypes

of the folk Negro which now hound the entire race. It has also bred hostility and aggression as counterthemes for humility and deference and led even in the Negro society to aversion to the man furthest down.

*The Negro Rural Proletariat.* The Negro rural proletariat consists of laborers recruited in Southern agriculture for peak season work only. They supplement the peasants or, where mechanization is advanced or for any reason peasant or yeoman emigration has depleted the agricultural labor reserve, are their successors.<sup>32</sup> As a rural social class the proletariat is little discussed, but it is of tremendous significance in Southern rural economies if for nothing more than because its mobility shows other agricultural Negro classes a way up by getting out and, perhaps, because it establishes a necessity for new social controls in Southern agriculture.<sup>33</sup> As wage hands they are controlled when on the job by their employers as directly as peasants, if not more so. Off the job, they are no concern of the employer, unless whatever happens then interferes with needed work. Marginal laborers wherever they are, they frequently are migrants who have only recently shifted from the land. Their only interest in agriculture is to supplement income to stay away from the farm or plantation and improve their foothold elsewhere. There is a cash, not a furnish or subsistence-barter economy. If wages are thought too low, recruiting may be forced into coercive forms or as in the recent war to a play on patriotic appeals. Even here, success is apt to be small if towns offer alternative employment or if relief can be had.

<sup>32</sup> The ideal for the rural proletariat is clearly urban residence. They may, as from Memphis out into the Arkansas Delta, be transported a hundred miles or so in daily movements. With given circumstance other residence-work patterns develop to create a mixed wage-and-furnish or subsistence-and-barter economy and a quasi-proletarian living situation. Due to AAF operations near Greenville, Mississippi, in war years, there seemed at least to be a great increase in the number of those living as share or cash tenants who "worked a shift at the base" or in town. It might be only one member of a family, the tenant or some other. Johnson mentions other forms, particularly in reference to his "urban dominated" areal type. See *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, pp. 200-223.

<sup>33</sup> I have at least been told, "You have to pay these town niggers more than they are worth, and when they leave, there's hell to pay. They usually gypsy a man's good tenants away sooner or later."

<sup>30</sup> C. E. King, "The Negro Maternal Family: Product of an Economic and Social System," *Social Forces*, XX (1945), 100-104. See also King's recent note on a polygynous enclave in Alabama, "A Polygynous Farm-Family System in Bullock County, Alabama," *Rural Sociology*, XII (1947), 174-176.

<sup>31</sup> "The teachers in Boyle (Mississippi) were worse than they are in Alabama. You won't believe this, but it is the honest-to-God's truth. We had one teacher who didn't know her multiplication table. She didn't mind telling us she didn't know. She'd say to us, when we'd ask her what a certain number multiplied by a certain number was, 'Oh, go away, child, I am tired and can't be bothered with you. If I tried to remember all that study and stuff, I'd go crazy.'" *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, p. 107.

The incentives of the proletariat are quite different from those of the peasantry or yeomanry. They are centrally aware of the way up by getting out and the advantages even of ghetto living: bright lights, chances for formal education or other training, easier work, less control by whites. The insecurity which sends them back into temporary agricultural employment may mean that, among all urban Negro classes, they feel the least secure in real attainment toward these ends. The shock of a pronounced and incomplete transition to the city places them among the most marginal of America's marginal men.

*The Negro Yeoman.* The Negro yeoman's way of life has been cast outside of the plantation belts. Less dramatic, it is less known than that of plantation peasants, but it too is old. Its system is a product of small, almost hopelessly submarginal farm units, Negro owned or Negro rented on cash or shares.<sup>33</sup> Ownership tends to be concentrated in non-plantation areas with a high proportion of Negro population. White control is much more indirect than it is for peasants or for the proletariat in agriculture. Unless he rents, the Negro yeoman can theoretically produce what he wants and sell his surplus where and when he wants. Actually, this freedom is frequently limited by small capital, available markets, and particularly by a restricted knowledge of the techniques of agricultural production: this is a culture of plant and harvest when the moon is right—a folk society rooted in the very traditions which white yeomen brought into the South in frontier days. The yeoman raises several crops in small amounts, usually by the timeworn techniques of the muledrawn walking plow and the hoe. Corn, cotton, cane, tobacco: the yeoman like the peasant is largely a row-crop farmer. He grows most of his own food; its supply is ample and diet is much more varied than among peasants, but there is little money. Unlike the peasant, the yeoman—trying to improve or clear his own place—has obvious incentives to make that little count. Produce is frequently sold on the square of the nearby village or town, direct to white or Negro town homes, or placed against purchases at the community store. Families own a scrubstock cow or two, a jack or a span, and a few hogs. Produce is prepared for off-season

by root cellar storage, by smoking, by drying, or by canning.

Yeoman families develop a rudimentary family tradition and are jealous of it. Labor is again a matter of family units, but differentiated roles for father, mother, and children are more evident than among peasants. These roles are direct counterparts of those of Southern white yeomen. The families are more stable. The father is dominant. Pride in legal marriage or preacher marriage as against "takin' up," the resulting legitimacy of children, and ownership or efforts to buy land are central values in the family culture. Knowledge of writing and money ways assume a vital importance and italicize a drive for learning. The school becomes a touchstone: its contribution may be poor but the goal is frequently focused there in supplement to family drives on Tuskegee or Hampton or Langston. Few yeoman children may go, but the essential things are the birth of the value of getting on in the world in or out of agriculture and the focusing of related plans. The very design of the yeoman culture extends the range of communication and interests far beyond the peasant way. The yeoman has taxes to pay, many new problems requiring plans and purposive interaction to solve. He must answer his own problems; if he ruins a plowshare or a cultivator, it is his own worry. The "razzin," the horse play, the "hangin' around" which goes on around the plantation store and cabins takes on a marked leaven of "see by the paper" and "the county agent says" in public discussions around the yeoman's community store or other gathering points.

*The Negro Farmer.* The way of life of the Negro farmer as a type stands almost as a direct acculturative progression from that of the yeoman—a progression based on one more generation, better schooling and the acquisition of some of the techniques of modern agriculture, a successful marriage, fair soil, the spread of more liberal small farm credit to Negro operators, probably the acquisition of a Farmall tractor, and what at this point must be blindly acknowledged as "plenty of luck." Among all of the other things which it is a temptation to specify with the above, the most apparent immediately are a progressive and co-operative county agent and a practical Negro extension service.<sup>35</sup> There have been few detailed

<sup>33</sup> Monroe N. Work, "Racial Factors and Economic Forces in Land Tenure in the South," *Social Forces*, XV (1936), 205-215.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas M. Campbell, *The Movable School Goes to the Negro Farmer* (Tuskegee: The Tuskegee Press, 1936).

studies of Negro farmers, living as they do well above subsistence levels and employing progressive agricultural techniques—probably because there are in reality so few of them. Johnson<sup>36</sup> and Montgomery and Williams<sup>37</sup> review materials which indicate the validity of the type with its still more sharply drawn immediate family and kinship roles, its accommodated and conventional pattern of paternal authority, its better educational backgrounds and incentives and its unique community status linkages with roughly equivalent white rural lifeways. Where the farmer tradition appears, persons to whom it applies frequently share membership in interest groups and perhaps in a few formal associations with their white equivalents. These cross-allegiances open up a broad, new secondary environment and foster an accommodation which in no sense need mean "Uncle Tom." By such tokens the Negro farmer becomes for the whites the acknowledged community "race leader," a status of security, credit, and authority though it may imply sharp isolation of the Negro farmer from the Negro peasant and yeoman—a demarcation cut clean both ways. It is this position which gives the farmer lifeway its core meaning. It would seem that the farmer pattern might develop in its clearest form in or on the hinterland rims and byways of diversified farming areas such as the Alabama-Mississippi prairie which

have good soil and which engender sharp breaks with traditional plantation farming systems.

*The Negro Planter.* The literature of Southern rural social organization occasionally makes passing reference to Negro planters playing the same economic role as white planters—one of land ownership and of management more than production skills. In social role it seems that Negro planters play the part of an ostracized elite—conventional, reserved, dependent upon local power ties of land and money, subject to oblique controls through more or less complete isolation from whites and perhaps to rigid, self-imposed sanctions setting them apart from all other rural Negroes. Friendship thus may be limited to others of their own class, townsmen, or people beyond the range of vicinage. Though reference in existing literature to the status of Negro planters frequently seems to be merely citing the exception to prove the rule that all planters are white,<sup>38</sup> the sociological importance of the type may be less significant for the number who closely approximate the pure status form than for interpretations of the behavior of minor plantation functionaries including Negro renters who may direct their own croppers and wagehands. Such status implies that they may stand well away from pure peasantry along continua of rank and prestige extending toward the planter ideal.

<sup>36</sup> Johnson, pp. 63-64.

<sup>37</sup> James E. Montgomery and Edward B. Williams, *Reconnaissance Survey of Calhoun County, Mississippi* (Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture (BAE), 1945), pp. 10-11, 18-21. See also the same analysts' *Reconnaissance Survey of Dallas County, Alabama* (Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1945), pp. 10-11; James E. Montgomery, *Reconnaissance Survey of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama* (Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, undated), p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> See T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation* (Washington: Works Progress Administration, 1936), p. 24. While in a statistical sense this treatment may be justifiable for the Negro planter, and indeed the Negro farmer, the gap at these points in sociological literature makes me wonder if this lack of documentation might in some sense be verification for the sort of vitriolic broadside E. B. Reuter hurled at Southern social scientists just before his death. See his "Southern Scholars and Race Relations," *Phylon*, VII (1946), 221-235.



# A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE RÔLE AND STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN THE HAWAIIAN COMMUNITY\*

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## I

VISITORS to Hawaii receive the impression from almost any old-time resident and from a wholesale of popular literature that the spirit of "aloha" is so universal in the Islands that there is no so-called racial discrimination, and, if these tourists do not look beneath the socio-economic surface, their impression, for the most part, is a correct one of the temper of race relations in Hawaii. Within the entire political boundaries of the United States and its possessions, perhaps only in the Territory of Hawaii has the history of a cultural region demonstrated that people of so varied an ethnic background as those living in the Hawaiian Islands can, for all practical purposes, work and play together harmoniously. Notwithstanding the propaganda disseminated by certain Hawaiian interests and the *flux de bouche* emitted by many of Hawaii's loyal citizens that there is no racial discrimination in Hawaii, the preceding statement is not a declaration that no racial consideration is observed socially and economically, but rather, an assertion that, by and large, the people of Hawaii (the Polynesians, the Caucasians, the Orientals, the Negroes, and all intermixtures thereof), unlike Americans living in most parts of the United States, do not, as a rule, *publicly* condone practices of so-called racial discrimination and segregation nor *openly* express intense animosities for specific racial and national groups. The reasons for these harmonious relations, into which this paper does not delve, have a long history which goes back to the former trading frontier existing in the Islands before 1850. The social interaction of this period established the basic pattern and mores of racial equality which, though modified by the suc-

cessive missionary, plantation, military, and tourist culture patterns, have persisted to this day.<sup>1</sup>

For three years this observer has lived in Hawaii, first, as an army officer, stationed in various installations on the Island of Oahu, and later, as a civilian. During this time and with previous cognizance of the rôle and status of the Negro in the States, he has closely observed this ethnic group in the Hawaiian community, and after much discussion with local people of various ethnic backgrounds he has reached three conclusions concerning its present rôle and status in Hawaii. First, the Negro group, as a new element in the Hawaiian social structure,<sup>2</sup> is at the bottom of the social and economic ladder, thereby following the traditional pattern of evaluation which stems from the old plantation system in the Islands.<sup>3</sup> Second,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Romanzo Adams, "The Unorthodox Race Doctrine of Hawaii," *Race and Culture Contact*, ed. by Edward B. Reuter (1st ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934), pp. 143-160; Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933); Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938); Ralph S. Kuykendall, *A History of Hawaii* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926); and Stanley D. Porteus, *Calabashes and Kings* (Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books, 1945).

<sup>2</sup> The Negro group as defined in this paper refers to those several hundred immigrant Negroes who have settled in the territory since 1940. Paradoxically, this group does not include those several score resident Negroes who were born in Hawaii or who lived here most of their lives because the attitudinal treatment of the local people has been to regard them on their individual merits and not to identify them as part of a Negro group *per se*. On the other hand, the local people are well aware of immigrant Negroes as a group because of the latter's extraneous mannerisms, dress and speech habits, and general gregariousness in seeking places of recreation.

<sup>3</sup> For this pattern of evaluation cf. Lind, *op. cit.*, chap. xi, *passim*, especially pp. 268 ff.

\* Manuscript received March 19, 1948.

the majority of these Negroes, having been conditioned by the mainland pattern of racial mores and being still hypersensitive in their rôles, find some difficulty in becoming absorbed into their new environment. And, third, to infer a *quid pro quo*, individual Negroes are assimilated into the Hawaiian community when they transcend this hypersensitivity or when they are able vocationally or professionally to contribute to the general welfare of the community.

Some reference should be made here to the rôle played in Hawaii by the dominant class with its social and economic prestige and, conversely, to those enacted by the subordinate classes with their aspirations for acceptance and recognition, to determine if this rationale of one aspect of the interaction of classes can be applied to the present rôle and status of the Negro in Hawaii. Historical circumstances have placed the Caucasians in Hawaii (known locally as *haoles* if they come from the United States, Canada, or Northern Europe) and most Caucasian-Hawaiians (ethnic Hawaiians who have some white ancestry), in a position whereby they enjoy today not only exclusive social position but, in many cases, also economic wealth. All other ethnic and national groups—Hawaiians, other part-Hawaiians, Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, and Negroes—are roughly gradated, socially and economically, below them. (It is to be remembered, however, that there are some persons in each of these groups who have by individual initiative attained wealth and positions of prestige.)

Omitting the indigenous Hawaiians, the order of this gradation is *a posteriori* that by which the majority of each group entered the Hawaiian community to work in the sugar and pineapple plantations which the white missionaries and their descendants had established. Turn-over of plantation labor was continual. Many laborers did not renew their contracts but, instead, migrated to Honolulu and other towns to open shops, markets, and other small enterprises. In addition, a sizeable number of these immigrants, particularly Japanese, dissatisfied with the hard life of the plantations, returned to their

homelands at the expiration of their contracts. Plantation owners necessarily experimented with several nationalities in an effort to find a stable labor supply.<sup>4</sup> During the latter half of the nineteenth century the Chinese was the first national group to be imported in large numbers, mostly by governmental agreements, to work on the plantations. In the approximate following order, these other national groups were brought to the Islands in substantial numbers during the past seventy-five years—Portuguese, Japanese, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Spanish, and Filipinos.<sup>5</sup> The significance of this order of ingress is that, with the exception of the Portuguese and Spanish,<sup>6</sup> the degree of assimilation of each group mentioned above is concomitant with its length of residence in Hawaii. The Chinese have had the longest period in which to leave the plantations, to educate themselves, and to enter into public service and private enterprise; this independence and the tendency of the early generation of Chinese men to marry outside the group, particularly with ethnic Hawaiians, because of the shortage of Chinese women, brought about a great amount of intermixture and assimilation. To a lesser extent have these trends occurred among the Japanese who came later. The Filipinos were the last immigrants to arrive. Though they have had a greater experience with American culture than any other imported labor group because

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-107.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 193-209 and chaps. x and xi, Kuykendall, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-324, and Porteus, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-94. This order of immigration is admittedly a rough one; there was much overlapping of the periods of importation of these groups.

<sup>6</sup> The Portuguese and Spanish are generally classed with the white or *haole* group; their cultural background is a part of that of the whole of western culture and facilitated their early assimilation into the *haole* group in Hawaii. The greatest factor against their immediate acceptance was their entry into the territory on the lowest rung of the economic ladder, i.e., as plantation laborers and overseers. However, the fact that most Portuguese and Spanish were regarded as white gave them an advantage over the Orientals in the ease of assimilation. As Lind asserts, "Outmarriage and 'passing' have and will continue to deplete their numbers. . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 107).

of fifty years of American dominance in the Philippines, the difference in their cultural background and their low economic status in Hawaii have impeded their ready acceptance. They are still thought of as the backbone of the plantation system today—in fact, are so.

In societies in which social (or vertical) mobility is possible, subordinate classes, which are not predominantly influenced by their foreign cultures, generally aspire to be accepted and recognized by, or endeavor to identify themselves with, that dominant class which has social and economic prestige. This desire for identity is frequent enough in human society to be a normal phenomenon. But a subordinate class is consciously or unconsciously aware of the fact that acceptance entails more than the possession of wealth and education. It feels compelled to take on the attitudes of the dominant group in order to be accepted. Consequently, whatever prejudices the dominant class holds, an aspiring subordinate class tries to emulate it and, if a victim of prejudice itself, rationalizes this condition or gains satisfaction by projecting a similar set of attitudes against some lower socio-economic group.

Not all members, however, conform to the collective actions and beliefs of their class or group, but certainly the history of the Hawaiian Islands, with the evident social mobility of the different peoples living here, seems to explain, in part, the social and economic ladder with the *haoles* and Caucasian-Hawaiians on the top rung and the Filipinos on the bottom. There are almost a dozen ethnic and national groups in Hawaii, and each one is referred to by others (not publicly) by stereotypes, derisive nicknames, and myths. In some cases, individual frustration is relieved by venting one's feelings on any one of a choice of scapegoats. It was into this milieu just after the Pearl Harbor disaster that there were suddenly thrust from the mainland thousands of Negroes along with hundreds of thousands of Caucasians, both bringing with them their mainland racial attitudes towards each other. Now with the Negro present in such large numbers it seemed that even the Filipinos at last had a scapegoat.

## II

The scarcity of historical and statistical data on the Negro in Hawaii is not apparent until efforts are made to discover them. Before 1941 no systematic study had been made of the Negro as a group.<sup>7</sup> There were a few references in several books, both popular and academic, but the sparsity of these references seemed only to emphasize that the few Negroes in the Islands had only a negligible influence upon community life. Indeed, to make anything approximating an adequate historical account of the local Negro would require a very close perusal of Hawaiian history.

From a statistical point of view a more vivid indication of the difficulty of research on the Negro is the official policy of most territorial departments and bureaus of classifying the Negro in the "All Others" category when breaking down the population into the customary components of Caucasian, Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Puerto Rican, Portuguese, and Filipino. In more recent years there has been a tendency to recognize the Negro as a distinct element in the population, but the former classification still holds in some territorial departments of government. In other departments the population is divided into thirty-three combinations of the nine groups noted. Only in federal agencies is there a consistent practice of classifying the Negro, statistically, as he is defined on the U. S. mainland.

It has been difficult sometimes to distinguish a Negro in the Hawaiian community. Unless he possessed obviously well-defined Negroid features, such as very dark skin, kinky hair, and everted lips, a Negro might well be mistaken for an ethnic Hawaiian<sup>8</sup> or for a member of a certain group of Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands or Puerto

<sup>7</sup> Vide Bernhard L. Hörmann, "Notes on the Testing of Sociological Theory in Hawaii," *Social Forces*, XXIV (December, 1945), 172.

<sup>8</sup> Adams quotes the remark of a southerner, "You may call 'em Hawaiians, but they look like niggers to me" ("The Unorthodox Race Doctrine of Hawaii," *op. cit.*, p. 154).

Ricans which had been imported for plantation labor. Some Portuguese, and even more Puerto Ricans, had traces of Negro ancestry; however, they thought little about it, and the community continued to classify them by their nationality.

A few Negroes had settled in the Islands in the nineteenth century,<sup>9</sup> but through intermarriage with the ethnic Hawaiians, who traditionally were a hospitable people, and with other groups their descendents were soon lost in the complex racial milieu. There came to the Islands in 1810 a Negro, named Anthony D. Allen, who was born in slavery in German Flats, New York. He soon acquired an Hawaiian wife, children, and an extensive tract of land in the Waikiki section of Oahu. His land was well-cultivated and in remarkably good order, and he tenanted it out in farming and grazing to families in his employment. This enterprising Negro sold much livestock to the Hawaiians, early missionaries, and the captains of sailing ships who put into Hawaii for provisions. To the consternation of the missionaries Allen dealt a great deal in alcoholic liquor with sailors; however, he was recognized by all as an efficient amateur medical doctor. At the time of his death early in 1836, this prosperous Negro had the respect of most of the community and was described as having been "a pattern of industry and perseverance, and of care for the education of his children, of whom three survive."<sup>10</sup>

Ross Cox, an adventurer, was on the Island of Oahu in 1812 and was "present at a grand pedestrian racing match, between

Krikapooree, the king's nephew, and an American black named Anderson, who was his armourer."<sup>11</sup> In 1828, there occurred

the funeral of a black man called Black Jo who has resided many years at the islands and has been much in the service of the king & chiefs as an interpreter and who was at the time of his being taken ill . . . in the service of the king as sailing master of the Kamehameha.<sup>12</sup>

It was not until 1900, when the federal census took the Negroes out of the "All Others" category and classified them separately, that the group began to emerge into numerical cognizance. In doing this the census used the U. S. mainland definition of a Negro, *i.e.*, any person with known Negro ancestry. There is one very important exception to this definition; after a scrutiny of many components of various census reports Hörmann finds that "those Negroes having Hawaiian blood are . . . always classified as part Hawaiians."<sup>13</sup> However, the enumeration of Negroes according to mainland definition amounted in practice only to the number of those persons who chose to admit that they had Negro ancestry. Thus, in 1900 out of a total population of 154,001 in the Hawaiian Islands only 233 persons (0.2% of the total) called themselves Negroes. In 1910 the percentage rose to 0.4 and dropped to 0.1 and 0.2 in 1920 and 1930 respectively until 1940, when in a population of 423,330, only 255 (0.06%) called themselves Negroes.<sup>14</sup> More will be said later on what seems obviously to be a crossing of the color and national line by the Negro.

<sup>9</sup> In the census of 1853 out of a total population of 73,138 Lind discovered "some twenty Negroes from various parts of the world" (*op. cit.*, p. 105).

<sup>10</sup> Letter of J. Diell, January 12, 1836, in *The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal*, VIII (June, 1836), 323; James Montgomery (compiler), *Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq.* (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1831), I, 425-426; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (New York: Sherman Converse, 1847), p. 106; Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii, The Pioneers, 1789-1843* (Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1942), pp. 38-39.

<sup>11</sup> *Adventures on the Columbia River* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), I, 43.

<sup>12</sup> Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Levi Chamberlain's Journal, MS, July 8, 1828.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>14</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States . . . 1920. Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), III, 1172; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Outlying Territories and Possessions. . .* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 48; and *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population (Second Series). Characteristics of the Population, Hawaii* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 1.



Between 1900 and 1940 migration of Negroes, as a group, to Hawaii was sporadic. In 1901 about thirty families from Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama were imported by the sugar planters as an experiment to work on the Maui plantations,<sup>15</sup> but like some plantation laborers they have long since drifted into the urban centres where through amalgamation they have disappeared. From time to time a few stevedores and common laborers came into the territory, and after the first World War a small number of Negro soldiers of the 25th Infantry Regiment, which had been stationed in the Islands, remained and took jobs of various kinds. Likewise, in the 1920's and 1930's a few Negro professional athletes drifted to Hawaii and remained.

However, throughout the history of the Islands some ethnic Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians have been proudly ethnocentric and have objected to mixing with darker peoples. Because of this, whereas they have accepted Negroes as individuals or in small numbers, they have not approved of their mass immigration. An instance of this disapprobation occurred in the 1882 meeting of the legislative assembly when "Hon. L[uther] Aholo introduced a resolution that all efforts to repopulate these Islands with negroes be discouraged."<sup>16</sup> It was carried.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Thos. G. Thrum (compiler), *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1902* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1901), p. 164.

<sup>16</sup> Archives, Territory of Hawaii, Journal, Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1882, MS, 76th [Legislative] Day, August 5, 1882. A literal translation of the resolution from the original Hawaiian, an unwritten language before the missionaries reduced it to writing in the 1820's, reads: "Because, there is a rumor and there is a fact which was related that a certain steamer had gone to import a certain race to these islands as laborers and for rehabilitation. And, that such laborers and for such rehabilitation purposes are said to be real black people; and, if that is so, such real Black people will no doubt be freely multiplied in these islands hereafter, therefore; It is approved: That this House of Representatives refused and deny the importation of such people as laborers and also for the rehabilitation of this race. It is hereby ordered that this people be discouraged not to be imported. L. Aholo, Representative, Lahaina. Aug. 5/82" [sic].

This legal restraint brought to an end long efforts of the sugar planters and the Bureau of Immigration to relieve the acute labor shortage by importing Negroes.

During the visit to the United States of His Ex. Walter M. Gibson, in 1870, he made enquiries as to the feasibility of what had on several occasions occupied public attention, viz.: the importation of negro laborers from the Southern States.

Many of them were very willing to come, and many of their old masters would have seen them leave the country with pleasure. . . .

The question of Southern colored labor was before the Board on Jan. 7, 1879, and was discussed at some length, but no action was taken. . . .

J. C. Merrill & Co., of San Francisco, on Aug. 28, [1880] wished the Government to make a contract with them for the delivery of say 1,000 colored people—men and women—in Honolulu, but the Bureau of Immigration having already on its hands as much as it could well attend to with the Portuguese and South Sea Islanders, was unwilling to extend its field. Nor was public opinion altogether in favor of these negroes coming here.

In February, 1882, the Bureau of Immigration . . . [asked] General Armstrong, of Virginia, . . . [to make] enquiries as to the possibility of introducing negroes from those of the Southern States where labor rates were low and whence naturally a negro would not much mind emigrating. . . .

[In October, 1882, the president of the Bureau informed General Armstrong that] "the present cabinet having decided to be governed by the wishes of the people in regard to emigrants [sic], have concluded to discontinue further investigation of negro laborers from the United States or from any other quarter of the globe. The last Legislature was decidedly averse to negro emigrants [sic], even to opposing New Hebrides people. . . .

"There was a resolution passed, opposing the immigration of blacks, and . . . we do not deem it advisable to ignore the feeling of the House, and would therefore ask you to discontinue further investigation of that class of immigrants."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Chas. T. Gulick, *Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly of 1886*, [Hawaiian Islands], Interior Office (Honolulu, 1886), pp. 143 f.

In 1913 the Negro 25th Infantry Regiment was stationed in Hawaii after strenuous efforts of some government officials and civic organizations to get the War Department to rescind the order. The regiment remained in the Islands for several years without creating friction and made a favorable public impression.

The most recent concerted effort of Hawaiians to discourage the importation of Negroes *en masse* occurred in April, 1941, when Hawaii's delegate to Congress discovered that the War Department planned to send a labor battalion of 600 Negroes to the Islands to unload army shipping. The stated objection of some groups was an economic one—the danger of importing \$21 a month military labor to compete with organized civilian labor. This view was expressed to Washington by the legislative assembly in a concurrent resolution, the city and county government of Honolulu, the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, the central council of Hawaiian organizations representing seventeen clubs and 1,200 ethnic Hawaiians mostly of the labor class, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The latter organization was the only one which said that its protest had no racial connotation.

Other segments of the community were more open in their protests to importing Negroes. The largest newspaper in the territory commented editorially:

Before resorting to the use of military labor battalions sent from the mainland, every effort should be made to solve the problem with local labor.

We do not believe that all possible efforts have been made to date.

Perhaps the proposal that Negro labor groups be sent here to work as stevedores will stir all local elements to united action.

It ought to.<sup>18</sup>

It did. The presiding officer of the Hawaiian Civic Club, comprising a large number of middle-class ethnic Hawaiians, "protested

the bringing to Hawaii of 'colored labor' on the grounds that such action 'would irreparably injure Hawaiians.'<sup>19</sup> Even a group of some fifty attorneys lodged their objections in Washington for similar reasons.

In the ensuing *mêlée* the commanding general in Hawaii indicated that he was sorry that it was necessary to bring in Negro workers and that they should be welcomed as are all races, creeds, and colors. However, federal officials in Washington, under pressure from local groups, stated that "they were interested in possible avoidance of Negro importation." Accordingly, the Secretary of War stated in a radiogram to the Hawaiian Civic Club that "the War Department does not contemplate sending colored labor to the Hawaiian Islands."<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, Negroes who have migrated to Hawaii individually have not met united opposition, and, though they, as defined by mainland standards, comprise a small group in Hawaii, they have made some contribution to the Island community. The few who settled in Hawaii between 1900 and 1940 were of the middle class. Not many came for the purpose of losing their racial identity, but that has often been the practical result. In 1901 William F. Crockett, a lawyer, came to Hawaii and later became the district magistrate of Wailuku, the deputy county attorney of Maui, and in 1915 a member of the territorial House of Representatives. Since 1919 his son, Wendell F. Crockett, also a lawyer, has been deputy county attorney of Maui. He has held executive positions in the American Legion, the Lions, and the Boy Scouts and was assimilated enough in the community to marry into a Chinese family. Nolle R. Smith, a civil engineer, was connected with local private industry and in 1916 became assistant county engineer of Honolulu. Beginning in 1929 he was elected a member of the territorial House of Representatives for several sessions; later he was appointed assistant director of the territorial Budget Bureau. At one time this

<sup>18</sup> *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 10, 1941, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (1st ed.), April 10, 1941, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (1st ed.), April 5, 1941, p. 8.

Negro was president of the Honolulu Lions Club.<sup>21</sup>

There were other Negroes who helped to build the Hawaiian community and in their work were absorbed into the social and economic life. Thirty-five years ago there lived in Honolulu, a prominent attorney, named T. McCant Stewart, who aided in drafting the Organic Act of the territory and also helped many of the ethnic Hawaiians to protect their land titles from the encroachment of certain vested interests. His daughter married a Chinese and for over forty years was a public school principal on the Island of Kauai. During the Taft administration Charles Cottrell was Collector of Internal Revenue. At first opposed by some leaders of the community, he later succeeded in winning great popularity. In lesser ways other Negroes have participated in the community. One of the founders of Lahainaluna School on the Island of Maui and for two years (1823-1825) a teacher there was Betsy Stockton, a member of the Second Company of missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. She was a freed woman who had been born in slavery in New Jersey.<sup>22</sup> (This school was the model used by General Samuel C. Armstrong, a son of one of the missionary families, to found the Hampton Institute for Negroes in Virginia, the latter, the prototype of Tuskegee Institute for Negroes in Alabama.) In the 1920's and 1930's a number of Negro baseball, basketball, and track teams toured the Islands. Singers and other entertainers left favorable impressions. Jesse Owens and other Negro athletes of the 1936 U. S. Olympic team, passing through on their tour of the Far East, were honored as much as Marian Anderson and Todd Duncan.

These Negroes were respected and honored for their contributions; those who chose to settle in Hawaii and to contribute to its de-

velopment were, for the most part, gradually assimilated and accepted. But to conclude from this evidence of acceptance that the small amount of antipathy in Hawaii for the Negro could not be perpetuated or increased would be to underestimate the ability of mainland white Americans, especially those from the southern regions, to disseminate their customary racial attitudes concerning Negroes. Long before the annexation of Hawaii as a Territory of the United States in 1898 the people of Hawaii had learned a little of the history of the Negro and his slave status from the early New England missionaries; these accounts were not colored with racial bias. However, some of the Hawaiian nobility had travelled in the United States before and after the annexation and had actually experienced discrimination and segregation because of their mistaken identity as Negroes. In the ensuing years after the annexation more mainland Americans began to settle in Hawaii. As more American tourists flowed through the Islands and as the military proceeded in establishing its installations, the local people learned indirectly through hearsay and rumor more about the Negro and his treatment on the mainland. Because of their small number in the total population the Negroes had a low visibility in Hawaii; many people did not see a Negro for years at a time. Some people, particularly those in the rural areas, had never seen a Negro. Consequently, having no intimate knowledge of, and lacking personal experience with, Negroes, most of the local non-white people, while accepting with little reservation the few local Negroes whom they knew to be a part of the community, tended to acquire from the dominant economic and social white class a slight reservation toward the Negro as a group in far-off America.

Equally as important as hearsay and rumors from tourists, military, and local travellers to the mainland in perpetuating a latent anti-Negro sentiment was the mainland presentation of the Negro in stereotypes. The American journalistic practice of identifying the Negro by race whenever he committed a crime was adhered to by the local newspapers when printing mainland press

<sup>21</sup> George F. M. Nellist (ed.), *Pan-Pacific Who's Who*, incorporating VI, *Men of Hawaii* (1940-41 ed.; Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1941), 149-150, 646-647.

<sup>22</sup> Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Missionary Album* (2d ed.; Honolulu: Hawaiian Children's Society, 1937), pp. 176-177.

releases, and, though the Negro in Hawaii had a negligible crime record, the local concept of the mainland Negro group as criminal was created and kept alive by this pointed labelling. Likewise, news from the mainland of lynchings and race riots was sensational and presented the Negro in conflicts and racial tensions which were very foreign to Hawaii's harmonious race relations.

In the comic strips of mainland origin the Negro was invariably depicted as a menial, black, thick-lipped, white-eyed character who spoke a strong Southern dialect. With hardly any exception the American motion pictures presented more graphically this stereotyped Negro as a lazy, childlike, happy-go-lucky, and fawning servant who liked music and dancing or pictured him as a buffoon afraid of ghosts or baffled by complex situations. With the coming of commercialized radio the transcribed recordings reflected the same type of comic. Jokes, short stories, and novels added their share. Thus, by the influence of these media the local people continued to maintain a latent, antagonistic feeling against Negroes as a group of people with whom they had little in common.

Acting as a check to these practices, however, were elements in the community which followed the traditional pattern of sanctioning fair and harmonious treatment of all minorities. The public school system in its curricula presented the Negro without bias. Editorially, local newspapers never condoned mainland racial frictions; the same paper which in 1941 objected to the importation of Negroes several years later made a public issue of naval police brutality toward a Negro defense worker. The reportorial and pictorial treatment of prominent Negroes by the two largest newspapers of Honolulu has always been without prejudice. Residents of the territory, particularly Caucasians, Hawaiians, and part-Hawaiians, might object to the importation of large numbers of Negroes, but few would consider being openly hostile to any Negro resident. The Island pattern was always one of vaunting harmonious relations and even striving to maintain them.

Throughout the history of Hawaii, a few Negroes have engaged in a practice by which

thousands of Negroes have attained a higher class status in the United States—that of crossing the color line and “passing” for another more acceptable race or nationality. Whereas on the mainland a Negro who chooses to elevate his status generally “passes” for a Caucasian, in Hawaii he can climb the socio-economic ladder by “passing” as a member of almost any race or nationality excepting that of an Oriental. And since in Hawaii no overt stigma is attached to a hybrid, a Negro of mixed ancestry can, and often does, identify himself with that ethnic group or nationality which is not Negro. Thus, a light Negro with varying hair texture can “pass” for a Caucasian, Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, part-Samoan, Puerto Rican, or Portuguese.<sup>23</sup> If he were part-Oriental, he could still pass as a part-Hawaiian.

The extent of “passing” is not definitely known, but there are two indications of its existence. Statistically, it is significant that, although the total population of Hawaii increased almost three-fold from 1900 to 1940, the number of Negroes did not increase proportionately for that period. Rather, the percentage of Negroes in the population remained consistently below one-half of one per cent and showed a declining trend for the period.<sup>24</sup> There are no emigration figures, but the relative freedom which the Negro enjoyed in Hawaii would likely prove a deterrent to his emigration. It is known that some Puerto Ricans and Portuguese have Negro ancestry, but the importance attached to nationality in Hawaii at times influenced the census enumerators and other authorities in disregarding the Negro strain. Some persons who called themselves part-Negro in the 1910 census became part-Hawaiian in the following decennium.

Scientifically less valid, but important because of their prevalence in the community, are the references made without malice by local people of various races and nationalities to certain individuals as having Negro ancestry but not generally thought of as part-Negroes. Even today people still make that

<sup>23</sup> *Supra*, p. 422.

<sup>24</sup> *Supra*, p. 422.



reference about specific members of the extinct royal family which ruled Hawaii during the closing period of the kingdom. There are several fragmentary documents to substantiate this report, though the official genealogies make no mention of it. Hearsay and rumors are not to be accepted as truth without question, but their currency in this respect indicates some bases on fact.

The Negro, then, in the history of Hawaii before World War II was assimilated into the Hawaiian community with little difficulty. This was due in part to his very small numerical proportion in the total population. The low visibility of the Negro proved advantageous in counteracting the latent anti-Negro feeling which the dominant class, composed for the most part of mainland Caucasians, had introduced, often indirectly, into this territorial outpost. It is probable that this process could have continued indefinitely but for the occurrence of World War II. It took the upheaval of war with its temporary, but large, influx of transients of the dominant socio-economic class possessed of certain strong, pre-conditioned attitudes to shake to its economic and social foundations the small and relatively stable Hawaiian community.

Migration to and from the Islands; the general economic rise of all groups; the disappearing reverence of the local non-Caucasian for the Caucasians in general (caused primarily by the immigration as common laborers of many lower class Caucasians from the mainland); the increased number of interracial marriages (raised especially by many mainland Caucasians, aware that they were free from the control of mainland mores against interracial marriages); the growing consciousness and strength of the labor union as an instrument of force to challenge the old, paternal vested interests—all these and other social and economic changes were caused by the sudden influx in four years of hundreds of thousands of mainland people (a large proportion from the South) into a community with an area a little larger than that of the state of Connecticut and with a population of less than half a million. In this great migration Negroes numbered several thousand defense workers and tens of thou-

sands of service men. The sudden reaction to Negroes in such large numbers was just another change from the traditional social pattern and way of thinking.

### III

Limited use of the questionnaire and personal interview, extensive recourse to casually directed conversations and observations, and examination of the reports and diaries of hundreds of students of the University of Hawaii written during the war years give evidence that the latent anti-Negro feeling of many Hawaiians which had lain dormant during the years between the two wars was intensified and focused on the local consciousness by the multitude of mainland Caucasians and Negroes who brought with them their mainland racial attitudes. This feeling did not develop into the crystallized prejudice which exists on the mainland, but rather, took the form of an aversion in varying degrees. The unfamiliarity of the local people in associating with large numbers of Negroes, together with the expressed prejudices of the mainland Caucasians, precluded the normal function of the traditional hospitable acceptance of this new ethnic group, the Negro.<sup>25</sup>

Many local people of all groups were not influenced by these pressures but reacted in the traditional pattern. Throughout the war Negro service men were invited into many homes to dinners and parties. One very prominent Caucasian family gave a dance and reception to which university girls, mostly Orientals, were invited as hostesses.

<sup>25</sup>Two important factors must be noted here. First, except the Hawaiians and the dominant white missionary-planter-big business class, all ethnic and national groups, entered Hawaii under the auspices of the white ruling class. Not so the Negro group; the dominant socio-economic class did not sponsor its entry. Therefore, its rôle and status had not been clearly defined by experience. Second, local residents would have been unaccustomed to any new group entering the Islands. However, the cultural and ethnic homogeneity between the local dominant class and the mainland Caucasians gave the latter a prestige which made them eventually acceptable to some non-Caucasians who generally harbored a low regard for all service men and defense workers.

Many non-Caucasians maintained an open mind and often defended the Negro when the situation arose. Some non-Caucasians expressed a preference for Negroes and a dislike for Caucasians because of the latter's imputed arrogance.

On the other hand, many other non-Caucasians were dismayed by the physical appearance of some Negroes. Their very dark skin was the topic of much conversation. Some people were amazed at the "pink color" of the palm of the hand of dark Negroes. Many Japanese barber girls were very reluctant to cut the Negroes' kinky hair; it was "too difficult" to cut. Among many Oriental girls there was extreme curiosity about the appearance of babies whose fathers were Negroes.

This recoil from the strange and the unusual received at the same time an impetus from mainland Caucasian service men and defense workers. A perusal of hundreds of letters, diaries, interviews, reports of conversation, and descriptions of incidents indicates that averse comments against the Negro preponderated vastly over the favorable or non-committal. The gamut of acquired mainland attitudes was freely presented by many local people to justify an act or opinion of aversion. To the serious student of American race relations it is necessary to detail only briefly the general pattern which the mainland people used to give meaning to their attitudes—the spreading of the stereotyped concept of Negroes, the expressed consternation of some who found themselves in public or private places where Negroes were on an equal basis with them, the ostracizing of girls who danced with or dated Negroes, the dissemination of the rôle played and "place" occupied by Negroes on the mainland, and others.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> There was a distinction in Caucasian attitudes toward Negroes. Data examined and observations recorded indicate that almost all Caucasian government employees, officers and enlisted personnel of the armed forces, and defense workers from southern states had very strong prejudices against Negroes. The prejudices of most persons from northern states were less pronounced, but they were just as strong when social status became an issue or competition developed between these northern whites and Negroes for the favors of the few available local

These attitudes and patterns of behavior of most mainland Caucasians were strong factors in creating an adverse feeling to the mainland Negro in Hawaii. These were well-formulated opinions of a dominant group having economic and social prestige; it was easier to accept them as factual than to trouble one's self with formulating an opinion about the unfamiliar. It is to be remembered that the Japanese, comprising over a third of the total population in 1940, were "on the spot" after the Pearl Harbor attack, and it was generally known among them that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Army Intelligence (G-2), especially, were opposed to the development of an affinity between them and the suspected recalcitrant Negro group. Several keen observers have noted that the attitude of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Army G-2 toward the local Japanese was very fair and objective, but a remarkable amount of comment by some Negro service men and Japanese persons seems to indicate that these two agencies did not condone close association between these two races.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, for some Japanese it was indiscreet to be friendly with Negroes.

Some local draftees who received their military training on the mainland, particularly in the Southern states, were favorably impressed with the Southerners' rationale of the Negroes' "place," not only in the South, but in any community. On the other hand, others were shocked at the treatment accorded the Negro in the South and even reacted negatively to the poor whites—a class

girls. The number of mainland Caucasians who were relatively free of racial bias was few, but the majority of *kamaaina haoles* (indigenous Caucasians) exhibited no overt race prejudice against Negroes.

<sup>27</sup> Whether or not there was any correlation between this official frowning and the southern background of the war-time heads of these two agencies is difficult to measure. However, the Library of Hawaii reports that early in 1942 it was ordered by the FBI to withdraw from circulation the periodical, *Crisis*, organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The reason given for this order was that the magazine's policy propagandized the need for a racial bloc between Negroes and Japanese since both were the objects of American prejudice.

with which they had no previous experience. But even a few of the latter group formulated a low regard for the Negro when they, comprising the Japanese 442d Infantry Combat Team, were fighting in Italy alongside the Negro 92d Infantry Division, which made such a poor showing in fighting spirit.<sup>28</sup> At first, through their letters, and later, upon their return to Hawaii and their discovery of more Negroes than those living here before the war, a number of these Japanese evidenced an adoption of the prevailing mainland attitudes.

Race friction between Caucasian and Negro soldiers and defense workers manifested itself in the form of fights and riots. There were only a few of the latter, and these were quickly brought under control. Of the former there were many; fights occurred on busses, in theatres, at dances and ball games—wherever Negroes and whites were brought into close social contact. These altercations along with alleged rapings, murders, and other crimes were fully reported in the daily press naming the Negro by race whenever he was involved or suspected. Reports of these crimes and disorders caused widespread comment among local people, and with the constant reminder from the Caucasians of the inferior and "subhuman" qualities of the Negro, together with the strangeness of his physical appearance, many developed a strong aversion to this new group so suddenly thrust into the Islands.

Instances by which this aversion was evinced are varied and almost countless, but they can be put into three general categories: first, the refusal of a few restaurants, barber shops, and taverns to serve Negroes, primarily to remove the possibilities of fights and to retain the predominant white customers; secondly, the denial of that cordiality to Negroes, generally given spontaneously by the average local person to the white man (and even to the white service man during war-time), because of fear that the Negro would take advantage of it and become "unpredictable" or "uncontrollable"; and, third-

ly, the declining of dates and dances by the local girls because of fear and distaste and warnings from white service men and defense workers of ostracism.<sup>29</sup>

There was little concerted effort by the armed services, the United Service Organization, the Red Cross, and governmental and quasi-governmental agencies to formulate policies which through education would adequately check the growing friction between the Negroes and other groups in the Islands. It may be argued that this was not the appropriate function of these organizations, but the record shows that in the higher echelons where policies were created the leaders were cognizant enough of the very low morale of the Negro service men and war workers to make attempts to solve this particular problem, not in ways which would follow naturally the traditional hospitable pattern in Hawaii, but in those, well-defined and channelized, which reproduced the mainland pattern of segregation and discrimination. When occasionally some forceful military leader or civilian supervisory body, as the case pertained, did issue a non-discriminatory order, its authority by the time it had seeped down to the rank and file often was not enough to deter old habits and modes of thoughts. As a battalion adjutant this observer saw *some* directives from higher headquarters which, if enforced by the lower echelons of command, could have helped to alleviate some discriminatory practices, but he knows for a fact that his commander and many of his fellow officers, who were Caucasian, ignored these directives.<sup>30</sup>

The Army, Navy, and Marine Corps generally maintained for Negroes separate quar-

<sup>28</sup> Eligible local girls were in an advantageous position to choose their associates. At times during the war there were almost a million service men, war workers, entertainers, and various categories of governmental and sundry representatives stationed in or in process of passing through Hawaii. With the ratio of men to women at almost fifty to one competition for girls was most keen, and the Negro man was not in a position of social prestige to compete successfully with the Caucasian.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Welliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-339 and E. T. Hall, Jr., "Race Prejudice and Negro-White Relations in the Army," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (March, 1947), 401-409.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Warman Welliver, "Report on the Negro Soldier," *Harper's Magazine*, CXCI (April, 1946), 333 ff.

ters within an installation and sometimes even an altogether separate camp. In many camps and cantonments the recreational facilities of Negro service men were not on a par with those of the whites, and few dances were sponsored by the USO or other organizations. (However, the mess halls did not follow the segregation pattern too strictly.) On the contrary, after the close of the war this general pattern was altered in the Army Hickam Housing Area for civilians by means of an educational programme, and there was no obvious segregation or discrimination in mess halls, housing areas, or living conditions. On the other hand, the well-established pattern of segregation in the Navy's Civilian Housing Area No. 3, where a strong Southern element is still quite vocal, has produced much friction and proved most difficult to solve in spite of the efforts of some progressive local citizens.

Only at Schofield Barracks, where the commanding general, during his two-year assignment ending in 1947, was determined to stamp out every form of segregation and discrimination and command his post according to his concept of democracy and with the most able men he had, did Negro, Caucasian, and Oriental service men, war workers, and civilians live, work, and play together without friction. For the military, assignment of housing was based on rank and not on color of the skin; civilians when first arriving to live on the post were told by representatives of the general that there was no discrimination in housing or recreational facilities, and they were required to acknowledge in signed statements that they had been so informed. All officers regardless of race belonged to the same club, and, when dances were given there, all races were present. With Negro officers assigned on his staff, the general maintained that he was not interested in solving race problems. His belief was that he could make the best use of those under him when he was impartial in his treatment of all. In the history of Hawaii there is no closer parallel to this effort to create harmonious race relations.

The United Service Organization in its recreational programme only reflected the

general policy of the military. At the beginning of the late war the USO in its higher echelons and some other local organizations tried to follow the historical pattern of non-segregation, but the local reaction to the sudden impact of many Negroes and the mainland anti-Negro attitudes (even voiced by some of the USO personnel) soon forced the USO to compromise its original stand to one which would cause less concern. The instances were many of girls refusing to attend dances for Negro soldiers or doing so with reluctance. If Negroes attended a dance for white soldiers, some USO sponsors advised the girls not to dance with Negroes "because sponsoring mixed dancing with Negroes and white soldiers was not the policy of the USO." Finally, a USO club was set up in Honolulu for the Negroes; it was not labelled as such, but all were aware of its purpose. One of the difficulties of this club was finding enough hostesses to entertain the Negroes. Except for dancing, however, Negroes were not discouraged from participating in the functions of any other USO club.

Those few local churches which tried to help solve the dance problem of the Negro met the same resistance from the girls. A Japanese university girl reports:

A group of undergraduates [girls] were gathered . . . chewing the rag. The conversation somehow got on the topic of dances. Then suddenly a girl (AJA) said,

"The other night our church girls acted as hostesses at a dance to a group of Negro soldiers. We tried to be pleasant and sociable, but you know how it is; we all have a certain feeling toward Negroes. You can't say you are completely free from prejudice, can you, when it comes to close association with the Negroes? I can tolerate them, but when it comes to dates with them it's another question.

"Well, these Negro soldiers aren't used to getting much attention from girls of other races, so if you're nice to them they become intimate. They start asking for your phone number and even dates. When it gets to that point, it gets disgusting and spoils the evening. You have to start thinking of all kinds of excuses to turn them away. Most of them are sensitive when refused. Right away they feel that you refuse them because they are Negroes and for nothing



else. In most cases that is actually the reason. But what can you do if you can't like them? Our girls weren't very enthusiastic, and many sat back and didn't dance at all.

"Next day in church, Rev. ———, in his sermon said something about our girls advocating race equality, interracial good will, etc., but when it came to putting that into practice they didn't try. He rubbed it in a subtle manner that the girls wouldn't dance with the Negro servicemen, and that got me mad. You know, it's easy for him to talk that way; it's easy for him to be friendly with the Negro men because he's a man. But it isn't for the girls. I wonder if he realizes that."

To this comment most of the girls agreed that they, too, found that to be a problem at Negro USO dances where the Negroes got too intimate when treated well by the oriental girls. One girl even said she preferred the haole USO dances because she felt that the haole servicemen were less emotional compared to the Negroes. Another commented that our prejudices toward the Negroes leads us to feel resentful over their attention, that if they were haoles or orientals we probably wouldn't mind it.<sup>31</sup>

#### IV

Although much lip service and public self-praise are given to the practice of race equality in Hawaii, the Negro, as a group, has not been fully accepted in the Hawaiian community. Nor does an evaluation of the present attitudes and comments indicate that, as a group, he will be held in much esteem in the near future. The Negro is a new and unfamiliar element in the Hawaiian social and racial milieu, and much more time than a few years under war tension is necessary for the local people to get used to him in large numbers. Furthermore, the hypersensitivity of the Negro to his low status accounts for some of his unadjustment and causes him to seek refuge in self-pity and race-pride. In this he is much like the local Filipino who compensates his feeling of inferiority with a strong nationalism.

Concern was expressed by some local people over the possibility that Negroes would remain here in large numbers. However, with the July, 1947, estimate of the territorial

civilian population at 525,477 there are still less than five hundred resident civilian Negroes.<sup>32</sup> Not included in this estimate, though, are some 3,000 service men and their families and less than five hundred civilian defense workers with the armed forces and their families. These few hundred resident Negroes, together with the few hundred defense workers, do not constitute a large percentage of the local population, but their increased numbers during the recent war make them impinge more distinctly on the public consciousness. The very color of the Negro gives him this higher visibility; if he were another Oriental or Caucasian nationality, he would not be thrust so indelibly into the public consciousness.

In order that the existing social and economic situation might not be further complicated with a new and "undesirable" element, some attempts were made to discourage Negroes from remaining in Hawaii. Several territorial executives have confided to the author that the partial intent of verbal orders, emanating from a high source in the territorial government, stipulating conditions under which mainland service men could take local discharges, in addition to controlling general vagrancy, was to discourage Negroes from remaining in the territory. These orders required the veterans to have the immediate prospect of a job and a place to live. However, the orders were not enforced on a racial basis and did not prove effective in their partial intent because housing was difficult for everybody to find. The number of Negroes who remained in Hawaii was very small; on April 30, 1946, of over 13,400 service men who took local discharges over

<sup>32</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Health, Territory of Hawaii, for the Fiscal Year 1947 Ending on June 30* ([Honolulu], 1947), pp. 41-43. The territorial population has been broken down into nine categories: Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and All Others. The Bureau of Health Statistics has no accurate knowledge of the number of Negroes in the territory. Whatever their number it is so small that they have been placed in the "All Others" category of 1,314 East Indians, Samoans, Gaumanians, and a host of other miscellaneous groups. Negroes with Hawaiian ancestry are classified as part-Hawaiians.

<sup>31</sup> University of Hawaii War Research Laboratory, MS, Nev-28-I.

2,600 were mainland people of whom only sixty-six were Negroes (mostly from the South). This number does not take into account any mainland people who might have returned to Hawaii after a mainland discharge or any war workers who remained. Sometimes the Negro did meet difficulty in finding a place to live, but so did the Caucasian. The housing shortage was, and still is, a great problem for all, and most non-Caucasians are reluctant to rent rooms to Caucasians. A few local business men and heads of sections of some federal bureaus adamantly refused to hire Negroes, but job differentiation based on race is not new in Hawaii. Orientals and Filipinos have found certain jobs persistently denied them. Then again, until recently job vacancies have been so abundant that Negroes have not been in want of work. It is important to remember that in both these respects, though the Negro presented a group, individual interaction was *vis-à-vis*. In Hawaii, unlike in most places on the mainland, anti-Negro sentiment is not so deep that the personal contact of some individual Negroes cannot overcome it.

Not having been fully accepted in the Hawaiian community on an equal status with other ethnic groups and nationalities, the immigrant Negroes have taken a highly defensive attitude which emphasizes their hypersensitiveness in racial and social interaction and their general unadjustment to the local code of mores. Perhaps it is not unnatural that they have developed a little "Harlem" within the slum area of Honolulu, brought in their mainland periodicals, and transplanted voluntarily their mainland patterns of behavior. The Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos have behaved similarly and have shown even more evidences of ethnocentrism including language, dress, and food habits. But whereas each of the latter arrived with the psychological fortification of a national and cultural tradition, the Negroes came with no such unconscious pride. Consequently, they fall back upon self-pity for the aversion which they experience and bitter criticism of American "democracy" and Hawaiian "hospitality."

Many Negro men in the lower classes seek

their recreation in a slum area in downtown Honolulu which caters almost exclusively to Negroes. This "exclusiveness" was developed when Negroes told their friends of the places they could go and have a good time. Few local people and Caucasians go there, and now that most of the service men and defense workers have returned to the States the proprietors of dance halls, taverns, restaurants, and amusement places in that area, as long as they make money, do not object to the predominant Negro patronage.<sup>33</sup> Here is an area into which the lower class Negro has segregated himself. It is in this area that some Negroes of the very lowest class are engaged in criminal pursuits which have received the pointed attention of the police department.

Some of these Negroes have further segregated themselves by supporting a barber shop owned by one of them in the Naval Civilian Housing Area No. 3 because they have experienced refusal of service in some Oriental and Filipino shops. Then there is the instance of a segregated church in the same Area which for several years during the war was led by a war worker who was the "minister."

This is the class of Negroes which is very poorly educated and has little to offer the community. A case in point is that of a number of very unkempt former war workers who at one time after the war operated boot-black stands in Honolulu. It is this class which does not know that most local people, including Orientals, attaching no derogation to the word, "nigger," often refer to the darker complexioned members of their own families and close friends by that word; these Negroes, then, are greatly offended when they hear the word used inadvertently or when they see it written, for instance, on the sport page of a newspaper as a nickname attached to some Oriental athlete.<sup>34</sup> This type of Negro takes a great "race-pride" in observing National Negro History Week, in honoring any prominent Negro who passes

<sup>33</sup> During the war some proprietors resented the gregariousness of the Negro because it tended to drive away their white patronage.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Home Ed), November 28, 1946, p. 18.

through Hawaii, and in supporting the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.<sup>35</sup>

Several Negroes have endeavored to assume leadership while unprepared to do so; this has caused some criticism. A few years ago a Negro war worker returned to the mainland. Last year he came back to Honolulu with the degrees of Bachelor of Theology and Doctor of Divinity from an obscure Bible institute in the Los Angeles area and tried to get the Honolulu Council of Churches to accredit him. Its polite refusal did not dampen his spirit; he now has his "inter-racial" church under a tent.

A clearer indication of the social unadjustment of most immigrant Negroes in Hawaii is the uneasiness and reticence which they display when they are with other ethnic groups. Sometimes it is very obvious that they are uncertain just how to act. The newness of association with Orientals and Caucasians makes them somewhat ill at ease. In many church groups and other gatherings most Hawaiians of all groups will try to be cordial to the few Negroes present. Now that the termination of the war has brought about the departure of most of the Caucasian and Negro service men and war workers there is less tension and more of a return to the former patterns of behavior. The reaction of most Negroes to this friendliness is not the comparatively free and spontaneous abandon of Caucasians, but rather, the cautious politeness of persons with a pre-conditioned persecution complex who are subconsciously still conscious of their rôle and status as a subordinate group not fully accepted into social and racial equality.

A few of the more educated immigrant Negroes who are able to "pass" as another race seek to make an adjustment by this method of escape. The author knows almost a dozen

Negroes who have come to the Islands in the last few years and who in their work and in their social life "pass" for Caucasians, part-Hawaiians, and Hawaiians. Some have made a smooth and successful transition; others show indications of the psychological conflicts of Stonequist's marginal man.<sup>36</sup> In the latter respect, some of these marginal persons may follow the path of a Negro couple which migrated to Hawaii about a third of a century ago. Though known as a Negro, this family, including the children who were born in Hawaii, seldom identifies itself with the Negro group, and many local people believe the mother is Hawaiian. The children, while in school here and on the mainland, endeavored to "pass" as Hawaiians and have been encouraged by their parents not to marry Negroes. In visits to the mainland the children and the mother associate usually with persons who are not Negroes or those Negroes who "pass" for Caucasians.

## V

Whereas, as a racial group, the Negro has not been accepted yet in Hawaii, on the other hand, *as an individual*, he has been and can be assimilated and accepted here when he ceases to be conscious of his racial ancestry and tries to live a normal productive life. Recognition of the Negro in the Islands is based on his individual merit; that Negro who has a contribution to make usually achieves adjustment and recognition.

It has been pointed out that certain individual Negroes in the past have been assimilated into the community and have been accorded the courtesies of social equality when they have proved capable of contributing to the community welfare.<sup>37</sup> Some local people objected strenuously to President Taft's appointment of a Negro as Collector of Internal Revenue; the same group petitioned President Wilson in vain not to replace him. As recently as 1943 local business men and government officials tried to block the appointment of a Negro from Washing-

<sup>35</sup> Some Orientals resent the NAACP because the word, "Colored," links them with the lower status Negro; some Negroes object to the presence of the organization and the observance of Negro History Week because they think that both are out of place in Hawaii and that the problems of the local Negro can best be solved through interracial and individual effort.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Everett V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), chap. ix.

<sup>37</sup> *Supra*, p. 425.

ton as an official of the territorial War Manpower Commission.<sup>38</sup> He was later given the respect of his position, appointed to the board of a branch of the YMCA, and elected president of his community association of which his family was the only Negro member. His wife became a public school teacher, and his younger daughter was admitted into a local private academy which maintains a policy of permitting less than ten per cent of its enrollment to non-Caucasians. The head pharmacist in the largest drug store in the territory is a Negro who has lived in Hawaii for over twenty years. Last year one YMCA secretary was the only Negro on the entire Honolulu staff with its nine branches. (The YMCA in Hawaii does not follow the mainland pattern of maintaining separate Negro branches; this particular secretary was in charge of adult education and was in contact with all races and nationalities except Negroes, who generally did not frequent the YMCA.) Negroes along with other races are hired without discrimination as radio technicians, construction engineers, and city bus drivers and are filling a useful function in the community's growth in many occupations.

Other indications of assimilation besides ability to work competently and harmoniously with other races are comments by local people about Negroes who have lived long in the Islands. Of many such comments, that of one Oriental girl is:

The principal of my school is a colored woman, though she once mentioned she has white and Indian blood in her. Somehow I have never thought of her in the racial sense. To me she has been an individual—a remarkable individual. I admire and respect her for the position she has attained.<sup>39</sup>

During the war a Japanese university student recorded the following interesting incident with a less educated, but Hawaiian-born, Negro:

Yesterday . . . I was at the baseball game.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Alexander MacDonald, *Revolt in Paradise* (New York: Stephen Daye, Inc., 1944), p. 270.

<sup>39</sup> University of Hawaii War Research Laboratory, MS, UHSv-77-III.

There were with me four girls and two men, one of them my husband. Just before the game a noisy bunch of young men sat beside me. In the group of four was a Negro sailor, but he was no ordinary mainland Negro. His speech was so "Hawaiian" that I realized right away that he couldn't be a malihini [newcomer to the Islands]. He was very noisy, talking continuously, and more like an Hawaiian than a Negro.

In the course of his talking he included me and even bought me a paper, a program, cokes, and peanuts, not to mention chewing gum. My protests being in vain, he soon had the others in my party supplied, too. "I make a lot of money every night so don't feel shame—I no ordinary sailor." His companions were all three Japanese.

Well, this was too good an opportunity to let slip by, so I started to ask him questions. The question, "You must be an island boy—you speak like one," was enough for him. He practically told me his whole life story.

"Oh, sure! I was born in Aiea. My folks live there yet. I play around with everybody. They all know me and I know everybody. But my best friends are Japanese. Guys like them (patting his companions). I call them Okinawas when they try get sassy with me. Them ugly guys but no get fool, they *Nippon-jin*, same like Tojo, the 'Buda-head.'"

He revealed throughout the afternoon that he had gone to Japanese school in Aiea. I must have seemed skeptical because he started counting for me, and reciting the alphabet, and talking in Japanese. His companions verified his statement, but adding, "Him was dumb guy, though." I don't know what their formal education had consisted of but they sounded like a group who had either just finished high school or hadn't even done that.

He told me that he went to Chicago for his naval training. Then I asked him how he had liked it there. His reply was, "Nah, that place not so hot. They get that kind Italian and Jew and Chinatown sections. Not like Hawaii where anybody can live any place they like. You know, no more *taekoku-jin* camp in Honolulu, but in the mainland all *taekoku-jin* must live in one place."

Well, I didn't know what *taekoku-jin* was, so I asked him. He didn't know what to make of it—whether I really didn't know or whether I was just teasing. So he finally explained that a *taekoku-jin* was a *kurombo*. He had been using a Japanese word, and he used another Japanese word to explain it. *Kurombo* in Japanese means



a black man [or derisively, nigger]. He used the word *taekoku-jin* many times, but he never said "nigger" or "Negro." He seemed to prefer using *taekoku-jin* to Negro. He called the haoles, *haku-jin*, and the Japanese, *Nippon-jin*.

When I asked him what had made him join the navy, he said that he would get better pay. "*Nippon-jin* and *taekoku-jin* don't have chance to become officer. The AJA's they suckers. Now look how they all get killed."

This had been the first time I had come into conversational contact with an Hawaiian born Negro so I was very interested. He was dark all right but not the coal-black type. If it weren't for his cropped, but nevertheless kinky hair, I would have taken him for an Hawaiian. It was easy to see that he was perfectly at home with his Japanese friends. They saw nothing funny in their relationship. Having grown up together, they weren't thinking of themselves in terms of Japanese or Negro. They were all just friends. The Negro had a definite place in Aiea. He knew he was Negro, but it didn't seem to bother him when he was at home.

He must have had some bitter experiences while in the mainland getting his training though. He remarked of "these damn *haku-jin*, they think they're too good. They kick the *taekoku-jin* and the *Nippon-jin* around." But other than that he showed no signs of bitterness or hatred or discontent.

He gleefully accounted how the Negroes, the Portuguese, Hawaiians, and the Puerto Ricans "gang up" on the haoles on his ship and "beat the daylight out of them. . . ." "Hawaii, that's the place for me!", "The *Nippon-jin*, they good, even if Tojo he number one bad guy," and "My best friends, they're Japanese, even the Okinawas" sum up his viewpoint.

Uneducated, granted, but he seemed to have made a remarkably good adjustment to life. He was cheerful, he was not bitter, his philosophy appeared to be, "There are good guys and bad guys. But more bad haoles than bad Japanese."

He gave me the idea that he didn't like the term, Negro, as implied by his painstaking care to leave it out of his conversation. He seemed to take a perverse delight in telling me that the *taekoku-jin* and the *Nippon-jin* were, at the moment, in about the same position. Both groups being disliked by the *haku-jin*.

I got the feeling that this boy would continue to be happy if he remained in Hawaii, and that he most likely would end up by marrying some Oriental girl or a Hawaiian girl or Filipino girl.

By his speech and his up-bringing he was Hawaiian, not Negro. I think he'll continue to go through life happy, considering himself an Hawaiian rather than *taekoku-jin*.<sup>40</sup>

Even a change is evident in the attitude of the local press. Now that most soldiers and defense workers have returned to the mainland and the social and economic life of Hawaii has been restored to that of peaceful pursuits, there is a tendency of the newspapers to adopt a fair presentation even of the new immigrant Negro. The number of feature articles and pictures of Negroes appearing in the two leading newspapers is about commensurate with the Negro's ratio in the population. Whether the articles and pictures are about a housewife who successfully balances her budget with the high cost of living or a soldier who plays in the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra or other everyday occurrences, the race is not mentioned. Local Negro perpetrators of crime are seldom identified by race. Editorially, the newspapers still do not condone mainland racial discriminations, but they do report all news about Negroes sent by the press syndicates, whether favorable or unfavorable. Though the Negro is very sensitive to unfavorable publicity, now with the war tension gone he cannot say that, on the whole, he is treated adversely by the local press.

Intermarriage denotes that it is possible for people of various backgrounds to cross the most difficult barriers of race, culture, and nationality; it is the one traditional social pattern for which Hawaii has perhaps gained much of its reputation as a "melting-pot of races." Its high rate is one index of the amount of assimilation and amalgamation going on in the Islands, and the Negro has not been excluded from this historical process. Although Negroes have intermarried with other groups in the community, there are no compiled figures prior to 1944 indicating with whom they intermarried; only a time-consuming examination of tens of thousands of marriage licenses would bring the Negro out of the "All Others" category.

An examination of the table on page 436

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, MS, UHSj-490-I, pp. 13-14.

TABLE 1. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF IN- AND OUT-MARRIAGES OF NEGRO MEN AND WOMEN FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1944 THROUGH 1947 ENDING JUNE 30\*

Year	Total No. of Marriages in Hawaii	Total No. of Negro Men Married	To Negroes		To Others		Total No. of Negro Women Married	To Negroes		To Others	
			No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%
1944	4,862	48	15	29.2	33	70.8	16	15	93.8	1	6.2
1945	4,754	42	15	35.7	27	64.3	18	15	83.3	3	16.7
1946	5,350	34	5	17.6	29	82.4	5	5	100.0	0	0.0
1947	6,070	42	18	42.9	24	57.1	22	18	81.8	4	18.2
Total	21,036	166	53		113		61	53		8	
Average %				31.9		68.1			86.9		13.1

\* Calculated from the crude figures of the Department of Health, Bureau of Health (Vital) Statistics, Territory of Hawaii.

throws some light on the trend of Negro in- and out-marriages in Hawaii. For conservation of space the race and nationality of the partners in the interracial marriages of Negroes have been combined. All out-marriages of Negro women except three were Caucasians; in 1947 these three marriages were with Filipinos. For the same four-year period half a dozen Negro men married Caucasians; brides of all the rest were of Oriental, Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, and Filipino extraction. In Hawaii there has always been a preponderance in all groups of men over women; this accounts for the high per cent of out-marriage of Negro men. There is perhaps enough evidence here to suggest that these Negroes are finding a limited acceptance and are being slowly assimilated as individuals, if not as a group.

Not too much is known of the social and economic status of these mixed couples. In one case, the Negro man and Japanese girl were both graduates of the University of Hawaii. They live now with their child in Massachusetts where the husband is a high school teacher; the girl's parents have never been reconciled to the marriage. In another case, a wealthy Chinese family resented the marriage of their daughter to a Negro from New York who is the assistant provost marshal of a local army air force base. After arrival of a second son, the family finally

accepted the Negro. With the exception of these and a few other cases, these mixed couples are of the lower class.

The Negro is slowly being assimilated, not accommodated, in Hawaii because, in the main, the basic pattern of gradually developing harmonious race relations is an historic process which even the tension of war and the racial conflicts of mainland elements did not erase. As accepted *individuals*, Negroes today enjoy as much social equality with other races as they did in the past, and that has been much. There is no segregation in theatres and restaurants. Negroes attend any church of their choosing and live in all sections of Honolulu. An educated and cultured Negro is invited to dinners, receptions, and parties in middle class homes at which he may find that he is the only Negro present. But, as a new ethnic *group* in the Hawaiian community, the Negro follows the traditional pattern of being placed at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. Because of this and his great sensitivity of his social and economic rôle and status on the mainland the Negro reacts to his new environment with pre-conditioned patterns of behavior. Only the adequate training, competent performance, and cultural dignity of each Negro will help the group to climb this socioeconomic ladder and be accepted eventually as an integral part of the Hawaiian com-

munity on any level and not merely on the lowest rung.

A prominent Honolulu Negro who has lived in the Islands for over thirty years with his family had this to say recently:

I know that the Negro faces a problem here in the Islands. That fact cannot be denied. But I do not believe the situation now is any worse than it was before. It was bad after the last war. The two situations were much alike. I think certain present difficulties will subside in time. During the war there have been many charges of discrimination, but I see no difference between these and the ones which happened during

the last war. I regard these discriminations as petty and something which will not last.

Negroes who come to the Islands are usually assimilated. It might take time, but if they have anything to offer they usually are taken in and treated like anyone else. There are obstacles, but they are more easily overcome here than elsewhere. . . .

I have never forgotten the advice given me . . . when I first came here. . . . I was told, "You're in Hawaii now, and you can make good. I have only one bit of advice to give you and that is to forget that you're a Negro."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Statement by Nolle R. Smith, personal interview.

## IS THE AMERICAN NEGRO BECOMING LIGHTER? AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL AND BIOLOGICAL TRENDS\*

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THERE is a belief in some quarters that there is a biological solution to the Negro problem; that is, in due course of time there will be no Negro problem because there will be no Negroes. They will have gradually become lighter and lighter, by virtue of the infusion of white blood, and by the preferential mating among Negroes themselves (wherein the light-skinned Negroes are the preferred mates), and finally will have disappeared as a minority group.

This paper is an attempt to refute this theory, and in addition, perhaps, to bring up to date some of the findings on the Negro skin color.

In a recent article entitled "The Vanishing American Negro,"<sup>1</sup> Ralph Linton maintains that in 200 years the American Negro will have disappeared as a minority group. Dr. Linton bases his assumption on several hypotheses. First, it is maintained that so far as total population is concerned, the overall proportion of Negroes to whites is steadily declining.

This statement needs some amplification.

From 1790, when the first census was taken, until fairly recently, it is true that the proportion of Negroes in the total population declined. In 1790, 19.3 per cent of the United States population was Negro, while by 1930 this figure had been virtually halved to 9.7 per cent. This comparative diminution was due not only to a smaller net reproduction rate on the part of the Negro as compared to the white, but also to immigration. Thompson<sup>2</sup> estimates that 38,000,000 immigrants entered the United States between 1820 and 1930, and the number of Negroes included was negligible. (Since 1808, when African slave importation was prohibited by law, the number of Negroes entering the country has been extremely small.)

By 1930, however, the immigration picture had changed, and by 1940 the effects of this change could be seen in the Negro-White Census figures.

### *Per Cent of Negroes in Total Population<sup>3</sup>*

1790	19.3
1830	18.1
1860	14.1

\* Manuscript received April 8, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> *The American Mercury*, Feb., '47.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Census Data

1900 .....	11.6
1910 .....	10.7
1920 .....	9.9
1930 .....	9.7
1940 .....	9.8

In 1940, for the first time since the Census was taken, the Negro showed a gain in total population percentage.

This 1940 figure is especially interesting when one considers the underenumeration of the Negro in the Census. In a check provided by the First Selective Service Registration, Price<sup>4</sup> points out that in 1940 the Negro male population age 21-35 was underenumerated by 13 per cent as compared to an underenumeration of all males age 21-35 of only 3.1 per cent!

In any case, barring the return of the United States to a less restricted immigration policy, the Negro will compete largely with *native born* whites on a population percentage basis. Whether the 1940 Census figures represent the beginning of an upturn in the Negro ratio remains to be seen. The answer hinges on comparative fertility and mortality rates.

The Negro birth rate has always been higher than that of the white, but so has the Negro death rate, with an infant and general mortality rate high enough to offset the higher birth rate. The Negro life expectancy is well below that of the white, and while the future cannot be predicted with certainty, the life expectancy of the white cannot go much higher unless the span of life is lengthened, whereas it is not unreasonable to expect that as the standard of living for the Negro rises, with the ensuing improvement in medical care, his death rate will drop.<sup>5</sup>

Whether, in the process, his birth rate will drop *proportionately* remains to be seen. In all likelihood his birth rate will drop as he

<sup>4</sup>D. O. Price, Check on Underenumeration in 1940 Census, *American Sociological Review*, Feb., '47, Table pp. 46-47.

<sup>5</sup>Thompson (Op. Cit., p. 146) states that "It is quite possible that the Negro is more subject to certain diseases than the white man . . . but we cannot say that this is a fact until the housing conditions of the two races approximate one another far more closely than they now do and until the Negro also has access to equally good medical and hospital care."

becomes exposed to the various sociological pressures inherent in a rising social status, but it is possible, nevertheless, that his decline in fertility will lag behind that of the whites, at least for several decades.

Support for this point of view can be found in the 1940 Census figures which indicate that for the decade 1930-40 the Negro reproduced himself to a slightly greater extent than did the white.

#### Net Reproduction Rate

White .....	.94
Negro .....	.96

Again, this may or may not represent the beginning of a trend, but from all indications it appears that the "steady decline" in overall proportion of Negroes to whites is about over.

Continuing his case for the Vanishing Negro, Dr. Linton holds that "The Negro population is becoming lighter with each successive generation. This is not a matter of paling out in a northern climate—it takes thousands of years to evolve a new biological type—but of *steady infiltration of white blood into the Negro group.*" (Italics the writer's.)

The validity of this assumption is, in the writer's opinion, open to serious question.

It is undoubtedly true that at the present time only a fraction of the American Negro population can be classified as pure Negro. The common anthropological estimate is that between ten and twenty per cent of the Negroes in this country are pure black. But when Dr. Linton asks, "If Negro blood has been diluted to this extent in the past 200 years, why is it not reasonable to suppose that the continuing dilution of the next two centuries will make those with Negro blood practically indistinguishable from the general population?" certain objections may be raised.

#### (1) Dilution of Negro blood\* to its pres-

\*It should be mentioned that (1) It is not the blood but the *genes* which are involved, and (2) Nothing is *diluted*; the black or white genes are merely *diffused*. The term "dilution of Negro blood" has little scientific connotation. However, since it has been adopted by most writers, the term will be used, although "genetic diffusion" would perhaps be a more definitive term.



ent, let us say, 15 per cent purity evidently began long before the Negro came to America. An 85 per cent dilution in the past 200 years seems unlikely, both genetically and socially. It has been estimated by Reuter,<sup>7</sup> for example, that "Probably 50 per cent of the Negroes brought as slaves to America were modified in some degree by early intermixture with other races. . . ." Historically there is little evidence that the Negro was ever averse to crossing with other races.

(2) While it is true that miscegenation began as soon as the Negro became a part of the American population, it is also true that many of the conditions which formerly favored this intermixture no longer exist: Negro-Indian crossings are probably at a minimum. The scarcity of white women in Colonial times—which was a powerful factor in overcoming race bias with respect to having sexual relations with a black woman—no longer exists. Also the plantation system is gone, and with it the relationship of white slave-owner and Negro concubine.

Incidentally, Dr. Linton makes the point that "since it was the aristocrats, not the poor whites, who had Negro mistresses, and since it was always the handsomest and most intelligent of the slave women who were chosen, these unions produced a high type of mulatto. Many of the leaders in the Negro race today trace their ancestry to such crosses." Although such relationships were commonplace, many writers feel that the most frequent crossings were between the Negro and the white servile class.

The indentured white servant class, for example, was the class which had the most frequent contact and intimate association with the Negro, since the cultural conditions of the two groups were similar. Reuter<sup>8</sup> states that "The chief difference in status was that the white servants were bound for a term of years while the Negroes were enslaved for life."

It seems likely that a good part of the impetus toward the anti-miscegenation laws

came from this latter relationship. The pattern of the white plantation owner and his Negro concubine was evidently culturally accepted, whereas the cohabitation of the lower class white with the Negro seems to have aroused the public ire.

As early as 1663 Maryland prohibited miscegenation by law, and soon this legality became widespread throughout the South. Today more than half the states have such laws. The effect of these laws is open to conjecture, but as the status of the Negro became fixed, the association between lower class white and Negro ceased, and in the later slave period turned to a feeling of intense hatred.

From then on, miscegenation between Negro and white became less and less. Today such relationships are not numerically significant. The amount of white blood that is being infused into the Negro today is probably negligible insofar as the Negro's becoming any lighter is concerned. (As we shall see, this fact is of the utmost importance, genetically, when it comes to answering the basic question as to whether the Negro actually is becoming any lighter.)

Dr. Linton admits that miscegenation is on the decline, but maintains, nevertheless, that the Negro is becoming lighter and lighter. This seems to be the heart of the problem.

The claim is made that among the Negroes themselves there has developed a status or class system; that is, it is the lighter-skinned members of the race who are the desired mates (especially the females). Dr. Linton states that "The very black girls marry later, have fewer, if any, children, with the result that the lighter members of the race are increasing and prospering, while the darker ones tend to die out."

Now the extent to which this light-hued preferential mating is operating at the present time is difficult to determine. Using a photospectrometer and with an adequate sampling procedure it would be possible to measure skin color and then ascertain its influence in Negro social selectivity. This would be a very fruitful field for a sociological investigation, although such a study was out-

<sup>7</sup> E. B. Reuter, *Race Mixture*, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> E. B. Reuter, *The American Race Problem*, pp. 125-126.

side the scope of this paper. A few observations, however, may be noted.

It is still undeniably true that the lighter a Negro's skin color, generally speaking, the more advantage he has in the economic world. A light-skinned Negro often has access to certain jobs that would be closed to a very black Negro. As every sociologist knows, most of the white people in the United States have, from early childhood, been conditioned against the color of black, at least where skin is concerned. The symbolism of our culture, wherein black signifies impurity, the devil, etc., probably is part of the conditioning process. Consciously or unconsciously the Negro recognizes this anti-black conditioning process and knows that the lighter his skin color the less the cultural tension he will produce. Among the Negroes themselves it is not uncommon for them to refer to the darker-shaded members as "spades," "carbons," etc.

While all this is pretty obvious to students of race relations, what is not so obvious is the *trend* along these lines. Twenty years ago in an article entitled "The Black Girl Passes," Steward<sup>9</sup> described the hardships incumbent upon the very black Negro girl in our society, and concluded that under the (then) existing conditions it would be difficult for her to survive. About the same time Herskovits,<sup>10</sup> in a study of Negro families in Harlem, found that in 56.5% of the cases the wife was lighter than the husband; in 14.5% of the cases the spouses were about the same color; and in 29% of the families the husband was lighter than the wife.

However true all of this may have been twenty years ago, what is the picture today? And what will the trend be in the future?

Preferential mating certainly is in evidence at the present time, although whether the current rate is greater or less than it has been in the past has not been established. The future trend is even more conjecturable. In an attempt to overcome the color stigma will the Negro aim toward white coloration? Or is he already developing a racial pride

which acts as a deterrent to preferential mating? If preferential mating in the Negro stems from race prejudice,<sup>11</sup> will this kind of mating decrease as bias against the Negro decreases? Is it possible to generalize by saying "The less the prejudice, the less color conscious the Negro will become"?

These are important questions, but for the present, at least, there are no convincing answers.

But even assuming that this preferential mating among Negroes continues unabated, what then? "The mulatto man," says Dr. Linton, "who marries an octoroon girl will have offspring lighter than himself; they will in turn seek light partners, so that even without black-white crosses, there is a constant dilution of Negro blood."

This is hardly in accord with the genetic facts. When a mulatto man marries an octoroon girl they *may* have offspring lighter than themselves. They may also have offspring the same color as either parent. And they may also have offspring darker than either parent, as the accompanying chart will show. Whenever two persons of *mixed* Negro-white blood have children, a certain percentage of the children can be expected to be darker than the darker parent, just as the marriage of a tall person and a short person will produce (statistically) some children who are shorter and some who are taller than either parent.

As Dr. Linton is well aware, when a mulatto mates with a mulatto there is just as much chance for a given child to be darker than the parents as there is for its being lighter. Negro spouses whose skin color is approximately the same shade have more chance of giving birth to children either lighter or darker than themselves than do Negro spouses whose skin color is several degrees apart.

<sup>11</sup> Whether preferential mating of this kind would continue even if all bias against the Negro were to be eliminated is problematical. It is quite possible that this phenomenon would be operative as long as the white man's ideal of beauty was the accepted criterion. However, in this event, it is probable that the mating preference would be "featural" (straighter hair, thinner lips, narrower nose, etc.) rather than color selective.

<sup>9</sup> G. A. Steward, "The Black Girl Passes," *Social Forces*, VI (1927-28), 99-103.

<sup>10</sup> M. J. Herskovits, *The American Negro*, p. 64.

This "constant dilution of Negro blood," then, that Dr. Linton refers to is nothing more than the segregation of Mendelian factors. There are at least two factors involved in Negro skin color. And so long as Negro-white mating remains at a minimum, so long as Negroes mate within their own color range, Negro blood will never become "constantly diluted" to the point where all Negroes can "pass" into the white race.

Since the key to the problem seems to lie in the actual segregation of the Mendelian factors, let us look at this aspect somewhat more in detail.

The original study in the field of black-white crossings was Davenport's "Heredity of Skin Color in Negro-White Crosses" (1913). Subsequent findings, at least in the field of color evaluation, have invalidated some of Davenport's work. Basically, however, the principles underlying his conclusions on the genetic mechanisms of the mixed crossings have yet to be disproved.

Davenport believed that "two gametic factors for black in Negro skin pigmentation" were involved, and he believed these factors were separately inheritable.<sup>12</sup> Given the amount of Negro and white blood in the parents, Davenport believed he could predict the skin color percentages of the offspring. In his "Comparison of Realization and Expectation in 631 Offspring," the validity of his assumption was, on the basis of his own figures, apparently borne out.

Although Davenport's basic tenets are accepted, many geneticists today believe that there are more than two factors involved in skin color. Edwards and Duntley<sup>13</sup> have shown that at least six aspects of pigmentation are involved: (1) Melanin, (2) Melanoid, (3) Oxyhemoglobin, (4) Reduced Hemoglobin, (5) Carotene, (6) An optical effect called "scattering." There is no evidence that all six aspects are separately inheritable. Some of the substances, such as

melanin, are of utmost importance while others are apparently of minor significance in the determination of skin color. It is probable that skin thickness also has a bearing on overall skin coloration. However, regardless of the number of factors involved it would appear that Davenport's basic principles still hold.

In the same study Davenport unwittingly helped to popularize certain terms for mixed-blooded Negroes:

Pure Black—"Negro"  
 $\frac{3}{4}$  Black—"Sambo" or "Mangro"  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  Black—"Mulatto"  
 $\frac{1}{4}$  Black—"Quadroon"  
 Less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  Black—"Octoroon"; "Mustifree";  
 "Pass for White."

These terms have come to be so loosely used that they are often meaningless. The term "quadroon," for example, literally means a person of  $\frac{1}{4}$  Negro blood,  $\frac{3}{4}$  white blood. On this basis the offspring of a mulatto and a white came to be called quadroons. However (assuming two factors), so far as skin color in concerned only one-half of the offspring will be quadroons. (Of the remaining half, one quarter will be mulatto, one quarter will be white. See crossing #12).

The same mistake in terminology arises from the other cross matings: quadroon and white, mulatto and black, etc.; that is, all the offspring of a specific mating are given the name "mulatto," "quadroon," etc., as the case may be, whereas in reality a given cross mating produces a variety of types. Paradoxically we find that at the present time a person could be declared a quadroon legally (offspring of a mulatto and a white), and yet biologically be of pure white skin! (See crossing #12.)

The results of the various crossings are shown on the accompanying chart. It can be seen that insofar as skin color is concerned, mulattoes, quadroons, etc., arise in a number of ways, and that all the children of the same parentage may not have the same genetic classification, despite the fact that popular usage ascribes the term "mulatto" or "quadroon" indiscriminately.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> This garbled terminology accounts in part for the difficulty in working out the Mendelian factors

<sup>12</sup> Genetically speaking, today, the term "factor" signifies separate inheritability. In Davenport's time, the term was not always used in this sense.

<sup>13</sup> Edwards and Duntley, "The Pigments and Color of Living Human Skin," *Am. Journal of Anatomy* LXV (July, 1935), 1-35

If, as some observers believe, there are three factors involved, the Mendelian principles still hold true, although the ratios shift considerably. (The two-factor theory has been used merely to demonstrate the principles involved. Use of a three or four-factor theory would have made the computation of the offspring ratio much lengthier.) As the number of factors increases, the variability of the offspring increases proportionately, but regardless of the number of factors, *in matings where both parents are mixed bloods under no condition will the mean skin color of the offspring be any lighter than the mean skin color of the parents.*<sup>15</sup>

In the light of the foregoing explanation it can be seen that even if light-skinned preferential mating continues, it is possible that norms for Negro skin color will be established which will be more brown than black, but it is inconceivable, in view of present day genetics, that American Negroes will gradually become lighter and lighter until finally they all "pass."

*The comparatively few Negroes, moreover, who do "pass" each year usually marry whites, hence add little in the way of white genes to their forsaken race.*

#### MIXED NEGRO-WHITE CROSSINGS

Capital letters (A, B) represent the presence of Negro skin-color factors; lower case letters (a, b) represent the absence of the factors. On this basis the following definitions (p. 443) are used, assuming two factors<sup>16</sup> to be involved in skin pigmentation.

from observation and lineage only. If two grandparents were alleged to have been mulattoes, for example, they may have been mulatto in name only. On the basis of skin color they may have been anything from a quadroon to an octoroon.

<sup>15</sup> This statement, of course, refers to the expected ratio, which would hold true over a large number of cases. Statistically, a given child's skin color might not conform to the expected ratio.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Conway Zirkle, geneticist at the University of Pennsylvania, makes the following statement with respect to the number of factors involved: "There are probably as many as four or five factors involved in Negro skin color, but regardless of the number of factors present, the mean color of the F<sub>1</sub> and the F<sub>2</sub> will be the same."

The very nature of the material makes visible evidence of the above crossings difficult to produce, but attention is invited to Day's "Study of Some Negro-White Families in the United States,"<sup>17</sup> plates 16, 22, 31, 35, 36, 40, 48, 50, 57. These plates would seem to support many of Davenport's findings, especially supporting the claim that the marriage of two mixed-blooded Negroes *can* produce offspring darker than the darker parent.

It should be noted also that certain aspects of Negro preferential mating exist without being apparent. When a Negro boy, for example, marries a Negro girl whose skin is lighter than his own, it may be lighter in *appearance* only. Edwards and Duntley<sup>18</sup> have shown that males generally are more heavily pigmented than females. A Negro boy, therefore, who marries a Negro girl of lighter hue may nevertheless be marrying a girl who possesses the same gametic factors for pigmentation that he himself possesses. (It is also possible, in many instances, that this sex difference in skin coloration is made more noticeable by the use of skin bleaches on the part of the Negro girl. Among certain segments of the Negro population these bleaches have a wide sale.)

Another aspect of preferential mating that must be mentioned is the relationship between skin color and fertility. If a significant correlation exists between Negro skin color and Negro economic opportunity, what is the relationship between skin color and fertility? It is reasonable to expect, since the differential birth rate takes the same pattern in the Negro as in the white, that the *lighter-skinned Negroes have a lower birth rate than do the darker members of the group.*

The attempt has been made, in this paper, to show that in 200 years the Negro certainly will not have disappeared as a minority group. The only physical trait analyzed has been skin color. Dr. Linton makes no mention of the other features which readily characterize the Negro—the nose, eyes, hair

<sup>17</sup> Caroline Day's article in the *Harvard African Studies*, X (1932.)

<sup>18</sup> *Op. Cit.*



Factors	Gametic Formula	Popular Name
Four present	(4) AABB (Black)	Negro
Three present	(3) AABb (Dark)	No popular name*
Two present	(2) AaBb (Medium)	Mulatto
One present	(1) Aabb (Light)	Quadroon
Four absent	(0) aabb (White)	White

Type	Crosses With (X)	Type	=	% of Offspring Who Can Be Expected To Be:				
				Black	$\frac{3}{4}$ Black	Mulatto	Quadroon	White
1. Negro	X	Negro	100	—	—	—	—	—
2. Negro	X	$\frac{3}{4}$ Negro	50	50	—	—	—	—
3. Negro	X	Mulatto	25	50	25	—	—	—
4. Negro	X	Quadroon	—	50	50	—	—	—
5. Negro	X	White	—	—	100	—	—	—
6. $\frac{3}{4}$ Negro	X	$\frac{3}{4}$ Negro	25	50	25	—	—	—
7. $\frac{3}{4}$ Negro	X	Mulatto	12.5	37.5	37.5	12.5	—	—
8. $\frac{3}{4}$ Negro	X	Quadroon	—	25	50	25	—	—
9. $\frac{3}{4}$ Negro	X	White	—	—	50	50	—	—
10. Mulatto	X	Mulatto	6.25	25	37.5	25	6.25†	—
11. Mulatto	X	Quadroon	—	12.5	37.5	37.5	12.5	—
12. Mulatto	X	White	—	—	25	50	25	—
13. Quadroon	X	Quadroon	—	—	25	50	25	—
14. Quadroon	X	White	—	—	—	50	50	—
15. White	X	White	—	—	—	—	100	—

\* "Mangro" and "Sambo" have been used to designate " $\frac{3}{4}$  Black" Negroes, but these terms have not received wide usage in this country.

† Although all "true" mulattoes would have, according to this theory, two factors for black pigmentation, a given mulatto would not necessarily be of the AaBb variety. A mulatto might be one of any of the following types: AaBb, AaBB, aABb, aABb, AABb, or aaBB. (This principle would apply to all of the above mixed types.) If, for example, the crossing in question were AaBb × aaBB, all of the offspring would be of pure mulatto skin color (AaBb). Compare the following two crossings, both of which involve two mulattoes:

Mulatto × Mulatto (AaBb) × (AaBb)				
AB	AB	Ab	aB	ab
	AABB	AABb	AaBB	AaBb
Ab	AABb	AAbb	AaBb	Aabb
aB	AaBB	AaBb	aaBB	aaBb
ab	AaBb	Aabb	aaBb	aabb

Offspring: 1/16 White; 1/16 Negro; 6/16 MULATTO;  $\frac{1}{2}$  Quadroon;  $\frac{1}{2}$  " $\frac{3}{4}$  Black."

Mulatto × Mulatto (AABb) × (aABb)				
aB	Ab	Ab	Ab	Ab
	AaBb	AaBb	AaBb	AaBb
aB	AaBb	AaBb	AaBb	AaBb
aB	AaBb	AaBb	AaBb	AaBb
aB	AaBb	AaBb	AaBb	AaBb

Offspring: ALL MULATTO.

type, and lips. But Scheinfeld<sup>19</sup> and others have indicated that these "give-away" features of the Negro are generally dominant over the corresponding features in the white. This fact would, of course, make "passing" much more difficult. There are countless Negroes today who could "pass" on the basis of skin color only, but the other features,

singly or as a group, tend to complete the stereotype. Some good examples of the dominance of these "give-away" features (with accompanying white or light skin) can be found in the aforementioned study by Day, plates 18, 20, 24, 32, 36, 42, 43, 48.

All things considered, the claim that the Negro problem will have biologically solved itself in 200 years does not appear to be either sociologically or biologically tenable.

<sup>19</sup> A. Scheinfeld, *You and Heredity*, p. 74.

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF POPULATION DENSITY TO RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AS A FACTOR IN MARRIAGE SELECTION\*

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TO DATE, studies of residential propinquity as a factor in selecting marriage partners<sup>1</sup> have concentrated almost entirely on urban patterns and, while they have produced interesting generalizations, they have overlooked density of population as a relevant factor and have, in one case at least, led to questionable inferences regarding small towns.<sup>2</sup> The present study is not intended as a criticism of its predecessors. The nature of their material quite justifiably precluded density as a factor, and they were, of course, not responsible for inferences concerning material outside their scope. The purpose of this article is, first, to consider the pattern of propinquity for a small town<sup>3</sup> and, second,

to propose relative size of various population groupings as a variable to be added to those already noted.

Briefly stated, the previous conclusions were: (1) The possibility of two persons marrying each other, other things being equal, varies inversely with the distance between their residences, and (2) Socio-economic factors, which taken together can be called "social distance," also influence the choice of marriage partners and may tend to intensify or offset the effects of residential propinquity.

The subject of the present study is Simsbury, Connecticut, the population of which grew from 3,625 in 1930 to 3,941 in 1939, the period studied. Information was obtained from all marriage licenses on file in the town clerk's office for this period.<sup>4</sup>

A preliminary conclusion from this study is that the pattern of mate selection is much more scattered for this town than for New Haven and Philadelphia, so much so that, at first glance, the statistics seem to reverse those previously compiled. Whereas the earlier studies showed approximately 80 per cent of all marriages occurring between residents of the same city, in Simsbury only 33.1 per cent were between two local people. (See Table I.) From this one might conclude that distance lends enchantment enough to over-

county, while another 23 per cent found wives born in an adjacent county. This study indicates indirectly the influence of premarital residential propinquity, but it is worth noting that the population of the county studied (Genesee, New York) consisted of 44,481 persons, scattered, mostly in small communities, over an area of 501 square miles.

\*According to the clerk these licenses include all weddings in which Simsbury residents participated whether the ceremony took place in the town or elsewhere. There seems to be no reason for supposing that this opinion is not substantially correct.

\* Manuscript received March 15, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (1932), 219-224; M. R. Davie and R. J. Reeves, "Propinquity of Residence before Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 510-517; R. H. Abrams, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection: Fifty-year Trends in Philadelphia," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (1943), 288-294. Each of these studies considers a single city and makes no analysis of marriages between residents and non-residents. All three studies show a high concentration of marriages between persons living close to each other and a decreasing percentage as distance, measured in city blocks, between the residences of the prospective spouses increases. A comparison between the first two of these studies, which are roughly similar in time, and the present one is shown in Table I.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. E. Baber, *Marriage and the Family* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939), 157-159.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. A. Anderson, "Mobility of Rural Families," The Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, Bulletin 607, 1934, pp. 19-20. This is the only study known to the writer which appears to bear on this subject. Dr. Anderson concentrated on the birthplace of wives and husbands and found that 62 per cent of the men in 1,000 marriages married women born in the same

## POPULATION DENSITY AND MARRIAGE SELECTION

445

TABLE I. IN AND OUT OF TOWN MARRIAGES: SIMSBURY (1930-1939),  
NEW HAVEN (1931) AND PHILADELPHIA (1931)

	Number of Cases			Per Cent		
	Sims.	N.H.	Phila.	Sims.	N.H.	Phila.
In Town	86	735	4,110	33.1	79.7	82.2
Out of Town	174	190	890	66.9	20.3	17.8
Total	260	935	5,000	100	100	100
Population	3,783*	160,605†	1,950,961†	—	—	—
Area (acres)	19,530	14,367	85,928	—	—	—

\* Average for the period, assuming annual increase by equal increments.

† 1930 Census.

come the magnetic effects of propinquity, at least in the country.

indicates that the number of people available at given distances has more to do with the pattern of selection than has any desire for

Further analysis of the licenses, however,

TABLE II. PARTICIPATION OF NEIGHBORING TOWNS IN SIMSBURY MARRIAGES  
1930-1939

Population, per cent of total Simsbury marriages, and road distances from Simsbury of towns 20 miles or less from Simsbury center

Town	Population	Road Distance from Simsbury	Marriages 1930-39	
			No.	% of Total
Simsbury	3,783	—	86	33.1
Avon	1,998	5	13	5.0
Granby	1,466	6	13	5.0
East Granby	1,114	8	3	1.2
Bloomfield	3,728	8	9	3.5
Canton	2,583	9	4	1.6
Farmington	4,932	12	8	3.1
Unionville				
Barkhamsted	715	12	0	0
West Hartford	29,359	12	3	1.2
Suffield	4,405	12	1	.4
Windsor Locks	4,210	13	0	0
Windsor	9,179	14	6	2.3
Hartland	298	14	1	.4
Southwick (Mass.)	1,520	14	0	0
Hartford	165,170	15	44	16.9
Granville (Mass.)	671	16	0	0
New Hartford	1,835	16	1	.4
Burlington	1,164	16	2	.8
Plainville	6,618	16	2	.8
Newington	5,011	17	0	0
East Hartford	17,870	17	1	.4
New Britain	68,407	18	16	6.2
East Windsor	3,891	18	1	.4
Westfield (Mass.)	19,284	19	1	.4
Bristol	29,309	20	3	1.2
Enfield	13,483	20	3	1.2
Other	—	—	39	15.0
Total			260	100.

novelty. One is tempted to say that people will go as far as they have to to find a mate, but no farther.<sup>5</sup> Tabulation of marriages between Simsbury people and residents of neighboring towns shows that the bigger towns claim a larger percentage of Simsbury brides and grooms than do the small ones. Thus Hartford, with 165,170 inhabitants, accounts for about 17 per cent of the marriages in which Simsbury people participated, although it is 15 miles away by road. Thirteen smaller towns, with a total population of 65,557, are closer to Simsbury than is Hartford. They accounted for 23.5 per cent of the marriages. The outside town with the second greatest number of marriages in which Simsbury residents took part was New Britain, which is also the second largest town within 20 miles of Simsbury. (See Table II.)

Table III suggests the creation of some sort of formula to account for the distribution of marriages within a given area. As in the case of the law of gravity, both distance and mass (in this case quantity of population) are involved. The presence of too many uncontrolled variables, however, prevents the formulation of such a law. The facts available are only approximations of the actual situation or, perhaps, averages of many possible situations. For example, it would be possible for a Simsbury resident to live within five or six miles of the nearest Hartford residents or, at the other extreme, for residents of these two towns to live as much as 25 miles apart. Unfortunately marriage licenses in small towns seldom give street addresses upon which to base actual distances. Hence, for purposes of this study, center to center were calculated from road maps. (In the case of Hartford the usual distance permitted by the O.P.A. for allow-

TABLE III. DISTRIBUTION OF SIMSBURY MARRIAGES, 1930-39\*

According to distance of spouse's residence from Simsbury, as measured by road distances to town centers commencing with the nearest town and grouping towns at two-mile intervals into distance "zones" (marriages between two Simsbury residents being included as "Zone I")

Distance Zone	Population	Marriages	Marriages per 1,000 Population
I. Simsbury	3,783	86	22.71
II. 5-6 miles	3,464	26	7.51
III. 7-8 miles	4,892	12	2.46
IV. 9-10 miles	2,583	4	1.56
V. 11-12 miles	39,411	12	.34
VI. 13-14 miles	15,207	7	.46
VII. 15-16 miles	175,458	49	.26
VIII. 17-18 miles	95,179	18	.19
IX. 19-20 miles	62,076	7	.06

\* The probability that this is a chance distribution of marriages as related to population is less than .01 ( $\chi$  square equals 3723.0280). This indicates the presence of an additional variable, which we have assumed to be distance. The validity of this assumption is demonstrated by the rank order correlation between marriages per 1,000 population and the distance zones, which is .98.

ing gasoline mileage was used.) "Social distance" as a variable will be noted later.

Nevertheless, Table III indicates that, within a reasonable distance of a given point, there may be a fairly close correlation between increasing distance and decreasing inter-town marriage rates, if the relative sizes of the towns are taken into consideration. This study is, of course, a single examination of the problem and is oriented from a single point—the business center of Simsbury. Moreover, because of the smallness of the figures, certain groupings had to be made in order to obtain any sort of generalized picture. These groupings are of towns at equal radii from Simsbury center, commencing with the nearest neighboring center, five miles away and lumping those at two-mile intervals, for instance Avon at five miles and Granby at six. Beyond twenty miles, marriages were so scattered that there seemed little use in extending the two-mile zones. It should be noted that these zones are arbitrary central bands for marriages of indi-

<sup>5</sup> Possibly the situation falls under Zipf's hypothesis of the minimum equation which holds that work, including the effort of traveling, is always minimized in human behavior. Zipf has applied this hypothesis to the findings of Bossard and Davie and Reeves and has even suggested the possibility of the enchanting effect of distance, especially in New Haven. (G. K. Zipf, "The Hypothesis of the 'Minimum Equation' as a Unifying Social Principle; with attempted synthesis," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 627-650.)



viduals who might be separated by much greater or less distances, as was pointed out in the case of Hartford. Accepting them, however, as useful approximations of relative distances, they produce, with one notable exception, a picture of rapidly decreasing probability of marriage with increased distance, on a per capita basis. As may be seen from Table III, the figures for marriages per thousand of population<sup>6</sup> decrease with a fair degree of regularity, commencing with Simsbury and working out, with the exception of Zone V, which shows fewer marriages per thousand population than does Zone VI. The presence of this exception is fortunate. Without it, a curve plotted on a graph is so smooth that it tends to obscure the presence of other relevant factors.

In their study, Professors Davie and Reeves devoted attention to the social factors related to residential propinquity. They pointed out, as have others, that marriage tends to be an in-group affair and that marriages are usually between persons of the same race, ethnic background, religion, and socio-economic status. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the underlying social facts with respect to West Hartford, which is the town in Zone V which seems to distort the curve. It can be said, however, that West Hartford was, during and preceding the period studied, a rapidly growing, relatively upper-class residential suburb of Hartford, while Simsbury was predominantly a manufacturing and farming town. Simsbury had fair-sized Italian, Polish, and Lithuanian groups, and more than half its marriages were performed by Catholic priests. There is a strong possibility that the barriers of class, ethnic background, and religion exist to a greater degree between Simsbury and West Hartford than they do between Simsbury and the other towns in the area.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>These figures were obtained by dividing the number of marriages in each zone by the population of the zone.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. M. L. Barron, *People Who Intermarry*, (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1946) 263. Barron draws attention to the effect of relative numbers of various ethnic and religious groups on inter-group marriages. He shows that inmarriage is

Social factors are not the only ones which distort the symmetry of this study. Rivers, hills, and other topographical features affect the distribution of population and the accessibility of different population groups to each other. The topography also influences the man-made environment of roads and bridges, which establish the distances most people travel<sup>8</sup> and which are the basis for the mileage used in Tables II and III. The above paragraphs may evoke a picture of neat concentric circles, but on the map the area included is actually a rough rectangle. One zone is made up of a single town, and one town, on the other side of the Connecticut River, lies only ten miles from Simsbury center but does not fall within the twenty-mile road distance from Simsbury. Political boundaries throw the picture still further out of round.

Such factors emphasize the danger in neat generalities, but certain tentative hypotheses are possible:

First, the Simsbury study, while it brings additional considerations into focus, confirms the general conclusions of the Philadelphia and New Haven studies: Pre-marital propinquity of residence is an important factor in mate selection. The possibility of two persons marrying each other, other things being equal, varies inversely with the distance between their residences.

Second, the Simsbury study adds a little evidence to the conclusion regarding the influence of "social distance."

proportionately much higher in large ethnic groups, while members of small groups, isolated from others of their kind, are forced to seek marriage partners in other kinds of groups which are near enough to be accessible.

<sup>8</sup>The effect of changed modes of transportation is indicated by the distribution of the 49 marriages in 1914. This year was selected at random as representing the situation before automobile travel was important and when there was still railroad passenger service between Simsbury and several of the towns in the area. In that year 73.5 per cent of the marriages were between two Simsbury residents, as compared with 33.1 per cent in the 1930-1939 period. The percentage distribution by distance zones in 1914 was: I—73.5%; II—4.1%; III—6.1%; IV—0; V—0; VI—0; VII—6.1%; VIII—2%; IX—0; Other—8.2%.

Third, the Simsbury study introduces the factor of population groupings and their relative size. Since both the Philadelphia and New Haven studies interested themselves primarily with marriages between persons living within the respective city limits and dealt with marriages spread over the entire city, they automatically eliminated the factor of varying population density. Marriages occurring between persons living at a given distance in blocks from each other in sparsely inhabited sections were, in effect, averaged with those between persons living in more densely populated areas. This produced

the effect of even population distribution throughout the city—an effect which is illusory but which seems to be justifiable for the uses made of it in the two studies. The objections to omitting considerations of density are immediately apparent in the Simsbury study and lead to a tentative conclusion which may be phrased as follows: Other things being equal, the possibility of marriage between persons living in different population groupings decreases as the distance between them increases but tends to increase with the number of persons available at given distances.

## LA PAZ, BOLIVIA: ITS POPULATION AND GROWTH\*

OLEN E. LEONARD  
U.S.D.A.

THERE is perhaps no other major city of the world that has evoked more eloquent descriptions from its visitors than La Paz, Bolivia, and as likely there are none that more nearly deserve it. Situated at some 12,500 feet above sea level, it occupies both sides of a deep ravine (quebrada) that, at its greatest depth, is approximately 1,300 feet below the level, high plain that surrounds it. In its rapid growth during the past two decades it has crept up the sides of the ravine until its streets that parallel the bed of the ravine have come to resemble the famous bench terraces of the Incan Civilization that, as yet, abound throughout the countryside.

The history of this city is as broken and contradictory as the physical environment that supports it. According to existing literature the site of the present city of La Paz was occupied as early at 1185 to 1190 when Maita-Capac, fourth head of the Incan dynasty, entered the area in pursuit of the recalcitrant Aymara Indians who had consistently resisted efforts to be incorporated into the Empire.<sup>1</sup> At this time, however, after

a brief and bloody campaign, the resistance of the Aymaras was broken and a fort and barrier was established on the present site of La Paz and Christianized Chuquiapu. Records indicate that the first Spaniard to visit Chuquiapu was Capitan Juan de Saavedra who, in 1535, "with his companions arrived without warning to the edge of the ravine overlooking the valley and settlement of Chuquiapu."<sup>2</sup> There was little official interest in the site during these early years since it was not on the direct road from Lima to the mining centers of Potosí and Sucre and no mines, as yet, had been discovered in the valley itself. The visit of Saavedra, however, seemed to have created some interest in the site among the Spanish for during the next 13 years (1535-38) others visited the site and several established residence from which they were able to supervise their local mining interests or to sally forth on periodic raids of forage and plunder among local Indian tribes. By 1548 the site was deemed to be of sufficient strategic importance to warrant an official establishment and Capitan Alonso

\* Manuscript received March 8, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> See: Luis S. Crespo, *Monografía de la Ciudad de La Paz*, Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de La Paz, Año V, Semestre de 1904, Nos. 18, 19, 20, pp.

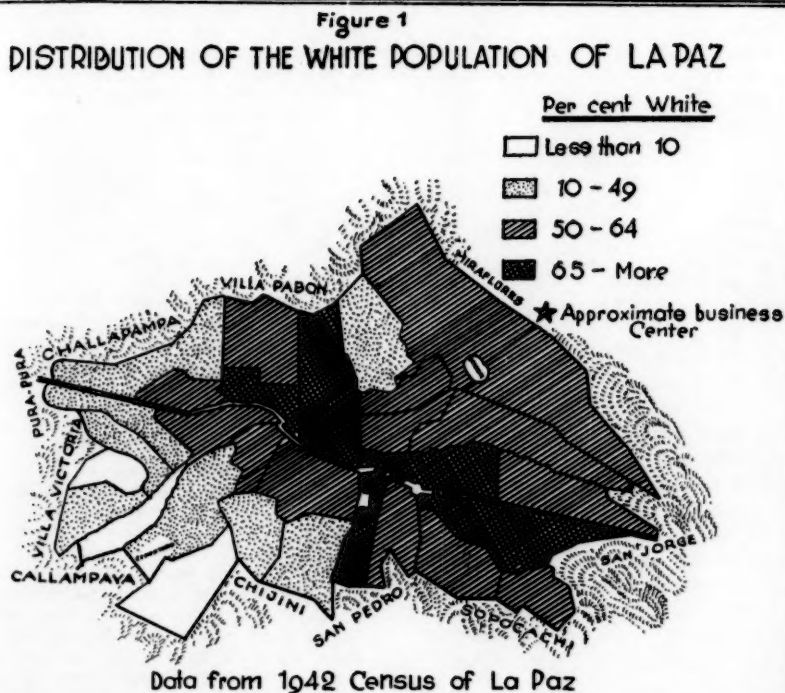
113-125, also Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de Estadística, La Paz, Primer Trimestre de 1909, Año V, Nos. 49, 50, 51, pp. 137-157, also Victor Santa Cruz, *Historia Colonial de La Paz*, La Paz, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Crespo, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

de Mendoza was ordered from Lima to found the city which would be called "the city of peace" in recognition of recent and successful repression of the internecine conflicts that had plagued the colonial administration of the area since its inception.<sup>3</sup>

did take place during these early years and by 1586, or "38 years after the founding of the city it could count a Spanish population of more than 200, well established and firmly settled."<sup>4</sup>

Soon after the independence of the Re-



Early growth of the city was slow. The Spanish Colonial Government did little to encourage its development since chief interest in the site was to establish a comfortable and secure stopping place and garrison between the city of Lima and the rich mining areas of the South-East. Some growth, however,

<sup>3</sup> Boletín de La Oficina Nacional de Estadística, *op. cit.*, p. 151. The history of the city has hardly been in keeping with its tranquil appellation of peace. Hardly a five-year period has passed in its history that has not witnessed some sort of major uprising while many a single year has witnessed two or more.

public in 1825, the city began to show real signs of development. By 1831 its population numbered more than 30,000 and in the next 14 years increased some 12,000 more. Severe droughts, followed by hunger and disease, took "severe tolls among the indigenous population" during the period 1878 to 1900.<sup>5</sup> Losses in human lives during this severe period are reflected in the reduction in the city's annual rate of growth that diminished

<sup>4</sup> Luis C. Crespo, *op. cit.*, 158.

<sup>5</sup> Censo Municipal de la Ciudad de La Paz, 1909, p. 44.

to an average of 198 per year between 1886 and 1902 as compared to the previous average of 884 attained in the period 1831 to 1845. See Table 1. The real growth of the

TABLE 1. CENSUSES AND GROWTH OF THE CITY OF LA PAZ, 1675 TO 1942

Census Year	Population	Annual Growth (Average)
1675	12,600	—
1796	21,120	70
1831	30,463	266
1845	42,842	884
1886	56,849	341
1902	60,031	198
1909	78,856	2,689
1928	135,768	2,990
1942	301,450	11,834

Sources: Censuses of La Paz, 1909, 1928, 1942.

city began in 1900. From that date a steadily increasing stream of migrants flowed into the city for work as servants or in the new textile mills and other light industries. Although the bulk of this migration had its origin in the rural districts surrounding La Paz, there was hardly any sizeable area of the Republic not represented. The average annual growth from 1928 to 1942 was more than 11,000 and there is little reason to believe that this rate has declined from 1942 to the present.

The present day racial composition of this population is complex. In La Paz, as in the remainder of Latin-America, "the Spanish had few women of their own race with them and were forced to satisfy their physical and moral necessities with women of the conquered race."<sup>6</sup> This, along with other related factors, has resulted in a racial conglomeration that would tax the skill of a trained Physical Anthropologist to classify. The classic census divisions have been: white, mestizo (mixed), and Indian with the later censuses adding the categories of Negro and yellow. The census of 1942 divided the whites into: (1) European and other whites, and (2) Latin-American whites, the latter group

including "those who are more or less pure descendants of Spanish (European) parents." It is interesting to note that the censuses have shown consistently increasing proportions of white and mestizo and corresponding decreases in the population classified as In-

<sup>6</sup> Evidence for the confusion that exists in classifying the population of La Paz is to be found in most of the literature dealing with the subject. Not only are most of the attempts to classify the population extremely vague but frequently contradictory as well. It is an old attempt to simplify a complex problem. A few of the more noteworthy examples follow: The 1909 census of La Paz and the 1900 census of the Republic describe the Indian of La Paz as "of medium stature, broad-shouldered, and muscular; his features although not handsome, are not displeasing; straight, thick, black hair, no beard, and of bronze and dark skin." (Section on explanation of race.) In the same section of the 1909 census the *Cholo* or mestizo is described as of "dark color, prominent cheek-bones, small dark eyes, of heavy build, and of medium stature." It is obvious that these characteristics are not distinguishing for the mestizo or Indian and could well apply to either or both groups. As so frequently happens, these same censuses use certain subjective criteria to aid the reader, and the census enumerator, in distinguishing between the Indian and mestizo. "His (the Indian's) dress is the same as that used in Incan times . . . jacket and trousers of homespun, poncho (mantle), and knitted caps with earflaps . . . he is a beast of burden . . . his are the jobs the European will not do," page 45. The mestizo, on the other hand, is described as "very superior to the Indian . . . his industries number many among the manual arts, and among the occupations of lesser importance," page 49-50. These, and other such data, lead one to Steward's conclusion as to classification of the Highland people of Peru, that "when Indians have adopted the Spanish language, European clothing, and other national traits, so that they are no longer conspicuously different from other people, they are classified as mestizo, though racially they may be pure Indian," Julian H. Steward, "The Changing American Indian," *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, p. 283. With such class, rather than caste, distinctions it is obviously an easy matter for an "Indian" to become a mestizo or for a mestizo to cross over into the white class. Examples of the former are witnessed in La Paz every day. The Indian moves in from the country with his distinguishing dress of home-spun, knitted cap and sandals for the men; shawls, multi-colored and pleated skirts, derby hat and bare feet for the women; secures employment, develops fluency in Spanish and is henceforth classified generally as *cholo* or mestizo. Such changes are less frequent among the women who do not find it so economically advantageous to shift from *pollera* (Indian skirt) to *vestida* (European dress).

<sup>6</sup> Census of La Paz, 1909, p. 49.





TABLE 2. RACIAL COMPOSITION OF LA PAZ BY CENSUS YEARS

Year	White		Mestizo		Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1900	18,184	31.3	13,648	23.5	26,183	45.2
1909	29,007	38.0	24,515	32.1	22,901	29.9
1928	55,321	41.4	41,975	31.4	36,430	27.2
1942	119,814	41.8	100,339	35.0	66,587	23.2

Source: Censuses of La Paz, 1928 and 1942.

dian. Since 1900, according to these censuses, both the white and mestizo populations have gained about 10 per cent and the Indian population has lost about 20 per cent. Careful study of these figures reveal, however, that such shifts are more likely due to differences in manner of classification than to any basic change in the composition of the total population although this rather simple fact seems to have been overlooked by such capable, national students of population as Manuel V. Ballivian and Luis S. Crespo who, in the 1900 census of the Republic and the 1909 Census of La Paz, commented at length on the evidence (classification) that the Indian was disappearing and would be "no more in the not too distant future."

The rare physiography of La Paz has inhibited the normal expectation pattern in its geographical growth. As late as 1902 the city covered only slightly more than 250 hectares (about 617 acres) of land or little more than the space it occupied soon after its founding by the Spanish. Growth in the population throughout the 19th century was reflected in an increasing density of houses and people in areas already occupied rather than by extension of the city limits. Not until 1910, and especially by 1932, had a marked movement of the population begun up the sides of the ravine and into the several finger-like valleys that flow into Rio Choqueyapu. See Figure 2. At the time of the 1945 census estimates, the city had spread still farther up the sides of the ravine and on down the main valley as far as Villa Obrajes. This latter movement has been accelerated with the recent increase in the number of privately owned automobiles and more and

better means of public transportation.

The configuration or zonal pattern of the city follows that which was decreed by the Spanish Crown during colonial occupation, and the pattern that still characterizes most Latin-American towns and cities of today. Business houses and services are concentrated around and near the Public Square or *Plaza*, located at about the geographical center of the city. Immediately surrounding this area are the more desirable residential zones from any of which it is convenient to walk to the downtown area as well as to and from home during the customary two-hour lunch period.<sup>8</sup>

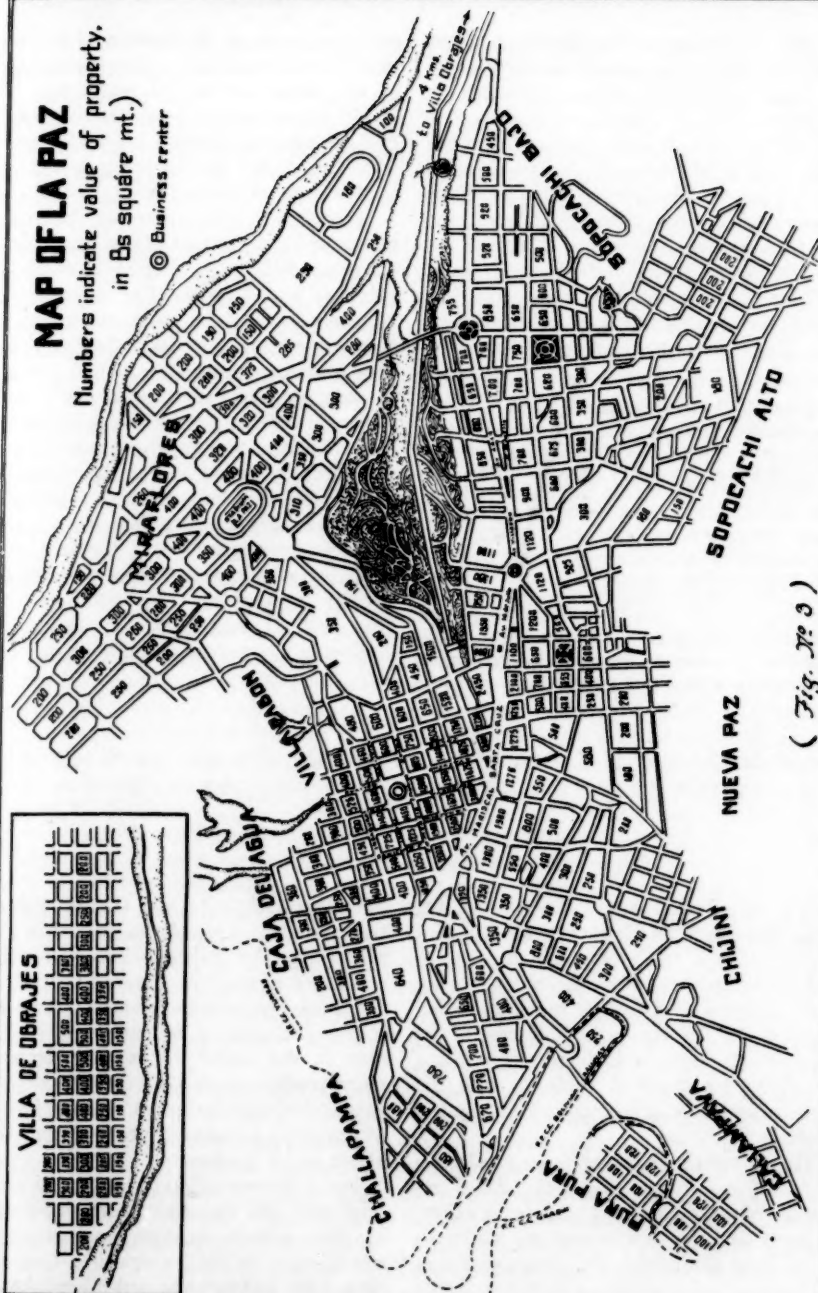
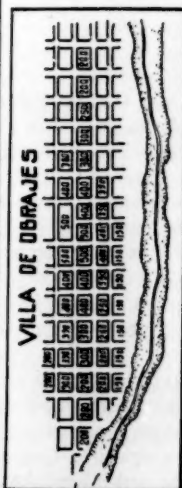
The value of residential property is less as distance from the center of the city increases. See Figure 3. This phenomenon is especially marked in the districts of Villa Victoria, Challapampa, and Miraflores. Certain exceptions to this generalization are observable in the districts of Obrajes and Sopocachi, along the arterial avenues *Arce* and *6 de Agosto*, and various fingers or spurs of land that reach out from the sides of the ravine toward the center and that are priced low because of their steepness, tendency to slide during the rainy season, or other equally undesirable quality. A careful comparison of Figures 2 and 3 reveals a high concentration of the white population in the residential districts of highest economic evaluation. With the exceptions of the districts of Pura Pura and Challapampa, which are the highest, and consequently coldest, zones of the city, 50

<sup>8</sup> The zonal pattern of La Paz as described here is quite similar to that of Mexico City as described by Norman S. Hayner, "Mexico City, Its Growth and Configuration," *The American Journal of Sociology*, L (January, 1945), p. 295.

# MAP OF LA PAZ

Numbers indicate value of property,  
in Bs square mt.)

⊙ Business center



( Fig. No 3 )

per cent and more of the population about the center of the city is white as classified by the 1942 census.<sup>9</sup> The Indian population, on the other hand, is distributed in a manner that varies inversely with the density of the white population. Hence the Indians are concentrated in the districts indicated in Figure 1 as containing less than 50 per cent and less than 10 per cent white. Actually, the greatest concentrations of the Indian population are along a fringe of settlement just outside the city limits where they build their own, inexpensive, mud or adobe huts, and

are able to escape the burden of city taxation. There seems to be little concentration of the mixed or mestizo population. This highly diverse group is scattered about the city, in the less desirable houses among the white population and in the most desirable houses in the areas of Indian concentration.

As indicated earlier, however, the configuration or zonal pattern of La Paz is slowly changing. With the increase in number of privately owned automobiles and better public transportation, the white, and upper class, families are moving on down the valley where they can secure more space as well as escape, in part, some of the many discomforts that accompany living at such a high altitude. As this suburban, white movement continues it is logical to expect that many families of the mestizo, or middle class, and some of the Indian families, or lower class, will move into the downtown space vacated by the whites and the now desirable, centrally located residential areas of the city will become the poor or slum areas of the city, as has come to pass in most of the major cities of present day United States.

\* In studying Figure 3 it should be kept in mind that altitude steadily, and often rapidly, increases as one goes from Obrajes to Challapampa and finally up on the 13,000 foot *Altiplano* or surrounding high-plane. The district of Villa Obrajes is more than 1,000 feet below the district of Challapampa. Thus the residential areas of Challapampa, largely occupied by Indians and Mestizos, are the most scenic residential areas of the city. Most any home in this part of the city commands an excellent view of most of the valley but such districts as those in which these homes are located will continue to be little desired because of the more rigorous climate resulting from their higher elevations.

## CAN RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE BE BOTH SOCIALLY USEFUL AND SCIENTIFICALLY MEANINGFUL?\*

CLAIRE SELLTIZ AND STUART W. COOK

*American Jewish Congress*

SOCIAL science has a two-in-one task. On the one hand, its responsibility as a science is to develop a body of principles which make possible the understanding and prediction of the whole range of human interactions. On the other, because of its social orientation, it is increasingly being looked to for practical guidance with immediate problems of improving human interrelations.

The very form of this statement reflects a serious predicament in social science research. "On the one hand . . . on the other" suggests that the two aspects are distinct—or at least distinguishable. But closer con-

sideration makes it clear that actually the two goals are so closely interdependent that neither can be fully realized without full realization of the other. Only as general principles are discovered can social science offer sound guidance for immediate action, and only to the extent that social science can make predictions about the results of action in practical situations does it justify its claim of providing a systematic body of knowledge about social interactions.

But it is very difficult to write in such a way that the essential interdependence of the two aspects is always apparent. It is much easier to discuss one at a time, as if they were independent objectives. And for the sake of clarity it may sometimes be (or

\* Manuscript received February 10, 1948.



seem) necessary to do so. But doing so creates the artificial problem of how to put them back together.

The difficulty is not merely a linguistic one. It permeates the whole field of social research. With relatively rare exceptions, studies have emphasized one aspect or the other. Some have been designed to produce practical information, while others have been aimed at developing scientific knowledge. And in the gap between the two an essential part of the potential contribution of social science has been overlooked. "Applied" research has been useful as a guide to action in many situations; "pure" research has discovered some general principles that contribute to an understanding of behavior. But both have fallen short of their greatest potential contribution.

"Applied" social research has frequently been of value in providing information needed as background for action in particular situations. Surveys have pointed up the need for specific informational campaigns by revealing areas of public misunderstanding. They have led to changes in procedure by discovering points that stirred up resistance. They have provided a basis for decisions about certain programs by gathering information about the felt needs of the people affected by the programs.

Other "applied" studies have provided needed measures of the results of action in particular situations. Such studies have most often been used to assess the effectiveness of educational techniques. They have, for example, measured the effect of a given movie on the attitudes of school children toward world government, or of a unit of study about Russian history on attitudes toward the U.S.S.R.

So far so good. Social action can be more intelligently planned on the basis of accurate knowledge of the present state of affairs, and no one can quarrel with the notion that it is well to study the effects of new programs. But most "applied" studies are limited to providing information about *particular* situations. They are not designed to develop or test hypotheses about general principles of behavior. And so their findings

contribute little to a cumulative body of knowledge that can be used in guiding action or predicting results in other situations.

It would be entirely possible to design "practical" studies in such a way that they would offer a source of hypotheses about general principles of behavior. For example, a study of the effectiveness of an advertising campaign might well provide data about factors influencing acceptance or rejection of information. A study of opinions about food rationing might throw light on reactions to public control of areas of behavior that have usually been considered matters of individual choice. Studies of the effects of particular educational experiences on attitudes might, if planned within a broad conceptual framework, provide tentative generalizations about the dynamics of attitude change and the conditions under which it occurs.

While "applied" social scientists have frequently neglected the forest for the trees, "pure" researchers have often done just the opposite. In seeking general principles, they have chosen to work in situations where variables could be easily controlled and results clearly measured. This has usually meant working in laboratories or in primitive communities from which the complexity and confusion of contemporary society have been carefully barred. While the resulting simplification may have facilitated the discovery of certain principles of behavior, it has greatly limited the areas of investigation, since many of the most significant aspects of human behavior and of social living cannot be reproduced in a laboratory and are not found in most primitive communities.

The principles discovered by "pure" research in simplified situations could have tremendous theoretical and practical significance if they were extended to broader areas of social existence. However, the circumstances under which they have been found and the manner in which they are reported have combined to hinder this extension. The findings of research on reactions to unfinished tasks, for example, might have a greater bearing on the productivity of workers than do "practical" time-and-motion studies. But unfinished-task studies have typically been

carried on in laboratories, with artificially-created tasks. They have been reported in social science journals, and word of the findings has rarely reached social administrators and "practical" people who could test their applicability in "real life" situations. The social scientists who have carried out such studies typically drop them as soon as the laboratory work or the original field work is completed. They do not make a habit of seeking out other situations in which to test their generalizations. This stopping-short has limited not only the social usefulness but the scientific value of the research findings. If social science is to provide a comprehensive explanation of social phenomena, it must account for what takes place in complex "real life" situations as well as in the laboratory and in relatively simple social settings. Generalizations which are not tested in such complex situations retain their limited character, and do not extend social science theory to cover the whole range of phenomena which properly fall within its domain.

While socially-oriented research has been busy unearthing the details of particular situations and scientifically-oriented research has been preoccupied with the development of theory in artificially simple settings, a crucial area which combines the essential features of both has largely been ignored. Roughly speaking, this is the area of practical social problems of such magnitude that they cannot be answered by narrowly-focused applied research, and of phenomena crucial to a theory of human behavior but too complex to be studied in a laboratory.

What would be the characteristics of satisfactory research in this neglected area? They may be deduced from a closer examination of the criteria which research must meet in order to be, on the one hand, socially useful and, on the other, scientifically meaningful.

1. What are the characteristics of research that is socially useful, in the *immediate* sense? Many considerations might be listed, but those noted below seem the most crucial.

To be socially useful, *research must deal with problems that have present social consequences or that are likely to demand solution within the near future.* No matter how

sound our understanding of human behavior may be, it is socially useful only in so far as it can offer guidance in current situations which call for action. Such problems abound. Among the more obvious are those having to do with methods of bringing about international cooperation; the use of leisure in an atomic age; labor-management relationships; the treatment of minority groups.

To be socially useful, *the results of research must be applicable in concrete social situations.* Recommendations that require modification of conditions which it is not feasible to modify have, by definition, no direct social value.

It might be possible, for instance, to demonstrate that carrying out a whole unit of production—e.g., growing cotton, spinning thread, weaving cloth, making clothes—is more satisfying and more conducive to stable personal adjustment than sewing seams on a particular type of garment in a dress factory. Such a finding, in itself, in twentieth-century America, would not be socially useful in the sense meant here, since in a mass-production textile industry it could have no direct practical consequences. It might, of course, provide a necessary basis for later research which would have direct social value. The relevant, useful questions in our mass-production culture (assuming that its economic advantages will insure its continuance) would be: To what extent, and in what ways, can factory operations be changed so that the individual would find more meaning and more satisfaction in his work? What kinds of leisure-time activities can help to restore the sense of completeness that specialized industrial activities destroy? Can participation in a labor union provide satisfactions that compensate for the loss of control over a whole operation? What forms of labor-management relationships help to restore the worker's feeling of self-determination?

To be socially useful, *investigations must be carried out in such a way as to stimulate application of their results in practical social situations.* No matter how relevant scientific findings may be, they do not achieve social usefulness unless they are put into practice.

The gap between what-is-known and what-

is-done has become one of the most remarked-upon phenomena of our times. The all-too-frequent fate of social science findings is a life of undisturbed peace on a library shelf. Often they never come to the attention of persons responsible for directing practical social activities. When social scientists do bring their findings to the attention of such persons, it is usually after the research has been completed, without previous consultation with or explanation to the administrators who may be concerned. The notorious reluctance of "practical men" to accept the advice of "theorists" may be traceable in part to this frequent lack of concern about involving the "practical men" in the research undertaking. It may also have to do with the failure of "theorists" to make sure their recommendations are understood and are appropriate.

2. The qualities which characterize scientifically meaningful research will be quite familiar to the scientist reader, but they are listed below for the sake of completeness.

To be scientifically meaningful, *investigations must involve the systematic formulation and verification of hypotheses*. It is generally agreed that a systematic scientific approach is characterized by progressive sharpening of focus, through such steps as the following:

- (1) Definition of the problem area and systematic survey of experience within the area. (Observation.) In social science, one efficient way of surveying experience is through gathering the observations of individuals in strategic positions within the area. Another is by direct observations as a participant in one or more situations of the type being studied.
- (2) Definition of specific problems within the area, and abstracting from a mass of apparently unrelated experience, hypotheses which have meaning in a variety of situations. (Generalization.)
- (3) Statement of these hypotheses in carefully defined terms, and statement of the consequences which the hypotheses imply. (Deduction.)
- (4) Investigation in a new situation of

whether the consequences implied by these hypotheses actually hold true. (Verification.) Wherever possible, it is preferable that the process of verification be carried out with the variables in question under experimental control.<sup>1</sup>

While all four of these steps are essential in the complete working-out of a problem, they need not, of course, all be represented in any given study. However, a given unit of research is most useful when it is placed in relation to other steps in the scientific investigation of the same problem.

To be scientifically meaningful, *research must be carried out and described in such a way that it can be repeated and the findings checked*. In this connection it is especially important that measurements be made in a standardized way, so that another investigator can use the same measuring techniques. Checking of conclusions, and a persistent search for new ways of challenging them, is accomplished, in part, through repeated observation and testing in both the same and different settings by both the same and other investigators. In part it is accomplished through the planned use of controls; i.e., devising ways of eliminating alternative factors which might produce the same results.

To be scientifically meaningful, *research must result in a generalization or principle which is not limited to the immediate setting of the particular investigation*. Science is not primarily concerned with local and isolated facts. Its goal is to abstract from particular situations principles which operate in other situations. Further, science is concerned with systematizing and integrating knowledge. In order to construct a comprehensive theory of behavior, the generalizations or principles resulting from a given research undertaking must be related to other generalizations and

<sup>1</sup> The possibility of controlled experimentation is dependent in part upon considerations specific to the setting in which work is being carried out. Even when feasible on other grounds, however, experiment is expensive in time and personnel, and its use in relation to other methods of investigation should be carefully thought out. A discussion of the relevant considerations is, of course, outside the scope of this paper.

principles which have been independently derived upon other occasions.

It is possible to carry on studies in such a way that they fulfill both of the preceding sets of requirements, although, as already noted, this is rarely done. Studies of this sort, which satisfy conditions for simultaneously meeting the needs of science and of practice, can provide a bridge between "pure" and "applied" research, drawing from both and contributing to—as well as challenging and stimulating—both. Such research will, of course, supplement rather than replace scientific studies which have no discernible immediate social applications and studies whose scope is limited to some specific practical problem.

The operating procedures of research investigations which meet both sets of criteria are essentially the same for all fields of social science. Some of the major characteristics are stated here, however, as they apply specifically to the field of intergroup relations.

First, such research is focused on the *process of change*; specifically, on how interpersonal and intergroup relations develop and are modified.

All agencies in the field of intergroup relations have as their essential purpose the changing of attitudes and behavior. It is important for them to know the nature and strength of existing attitudes, and the relation of those attitudes to other factors, but their work is bound to be ineffective unless they also know how existing attitudes can be modified.

It is frequently assumed that studies of how attitudes develop will provide knowledge of how to change them. This assumption, if taken literally, is misleading. It is not possible simply to reverse the developmental process and unwind a prejudice. Nor is it possible to develop a new attitude simply by attempting to reproduce the methods that led to the old one, since the individual is no longer the same as he was. Of course, studies of how attitudes have developed may, and often do, suggest hypotheses about how present attitudes may be changed. In order to test these hypotheses, however, the further

step must be taken of introducing the suggested change-producing factors into the present situation and studying the results.

Many organizations in the field of intergroup relations are dealing with adults; almost all of them are dealing with individuals who already have more or less well-established attitudes. It profits the agency little to know how these individuals got that way, unless the question is carried to the next step: "Now that they are that way, how can they become some other way?"

This is such an urgent practical problem that it is often thought of as a concern only of social reformers. Actually, however, knowledge of the dynamics of attitude change would constitute a major contribution to social science theory. As the physical and biological sciences have demonstrated, one of the important ways—though certainly not the only way—to discover the nature of things is to discover how change in predictable directions can be produced.

Second, research is carried on *in collaboration with agencies that have action programs in the field*. Such collaboration provides three guarantees of the social utility of the findings: it insures that the problems selected for investigation are of live social concern, since they are questions to which action agencies feel that they need answers in order to make their work more effective; it insures that the results, the recommended procedures, will be immediately applicable in real life situations, since they are tested in the kinds of situations in which they are intended to be used; and lastly, by making program administrators partners in the research undertaking, it gives them a vested interest in the results which goes a long way toward insuring that the findings will be used to modify actual practice rather than being filed in unread reports.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> It is reasonable to ask, at this point, whether the partnership with an agency which is attempting to reach definite social goals does not result in a loss of scientific objectivity. The key to the answer lies partly in the choice of the collaborating agency and partly in the definition of the research project. In practice, the social scientist will work best with a given agency only on problems of program on



Besides these obvious contributions to the social usefulness of research, working with program agencies also affords opportunities for increasing its scientific value. By providing access to conditions which cannot be reproduced in a laboratory, it broadens the areas of behavior that can be studied.

Third and finally, studies are undertaken as part of a *coordinated research plan*. Such a plan should take account both of the practical timeliness of problems to be investigated and of the demands of social science theory for formulation of general principles of behavior. An over-all plan makes possible the identification of broad problems (such as the effects of contact between members of different ethnic groups) and investigation of a given problem in a number of different settings (e.g., recreation centers, housing developments, labor unions). Such a coordinated approach to related problems can best be carried out by a group of social scientists working together full time.

The results of a series of coordinated studies are more fruitful—both practically and scientifically—than the results of an equal number of unrelated studies. By analysis of the similarities and differences in results of related studies in different social settings, it becomes possible to determine to

which the agency is itself willing to entertain honest questions as to which is the better of a number of alternative procedures. This, of course, requires that the scientist choose his collaborators in terms of the meshing of common interest in a problem with both practical and theoretical implications. Experience indicates that when a project is approached from this point of view strong loyalties to an objective evaluation will develop in the field collaborator.

what extent the results are due to general determinants of attitude change independent of the specific settings and to what extent the results stem from each of the various social settings in which the problem has been investigated. At this point "socially useful" and "scientifically meaningful" become identical, since only when experimental results are translated into principles operating beyond a specific social setting is widespread application possible.

Many persons interested in contributing to the solution of problems of intergroup relations have been troubled as to how their efforts may best be directed—in activity aimed at producing immediate practical results, or in attempts to increase understanding of the problems and so ultimately to devise more effective methods of bringing about improvements. Pressures on both sides have been great. On the one hand, there is the awareness of the pressing urgency of reducing intergroup conflict if democracy is to survive, a feeling that whatever can be done immediately must be done and that there is no time for prolonged deliberation or study. On the other hand, there is the uneasy realization that much present activity in this field seems to have little effect, that we have never carefully measured what is being accomplished and by what means. This dilemma can be resolved by research such as that described here, since it makes possible the accumulation of tested scientific knowledge at the same time that practical action is being carried on, and in such a way that the results of research can be used almost immediately to increase the effectiveness of action programs.

# OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



## THE 1948 CENSUS OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

### A. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

For the fifth consecutive year the number of projects submitted by members of the Society to the Committee on Research has shown an increase over the number reported the previous year. There were 788 projects reported in 1948 as compared with 714 in 1947, or a 10.4 per cent increase (Table 1). A total of 858 members, or 36 per cent of the membership returned the census forms but only 499, or 21 per cent, submitted projects.

The members filing returns are classified in Table 2 according to the positions held. Of the 499 persons submitting projects, 433, or 86.7 per cent, are from colleges and universities, 6.5 per cent from research organizations, and 6.8 per

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PROJECTS BY YEARS  
1943-1948

Year	Number of Projects	Percent Increase Over Previous Year
1948	788	10.4
1947	714	44.2
1946	495	14.6
1945	432	38.9
1944	311	12.7
1943	276	

cent from other agencies. It is interesting to note that of the persons submitting projects from

TABLE 2. MEMBERS RETURNING SCHEDULES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Occupation	Members who Returned Schedules in 1948		
	Reported Projects	Did not Report Project	Total
University or College:	433	259	691
Professor	141	66	207
Associate Professor	60	24	84
Assistant Professor	73	24	97
Instructor	62	38	100
Lecturer	15	—	15
Other or unstated	9	14	23
Research Associate	7	2	9
Research Assistant	6	2	8
Graduate Student	60	89	148
Research Organization:	32	14	46
Government Research	10	7	17
Research Institute	13	—	13
Other	9	7	16
Social Agencies (Non-research)	5	3	8
Government (Non-research)	1	8	9
Other	24	51	75
Unknown	4	25	29
Total	499	360	858

academic institutions, 32.5 per cent gave their titles as professor, only 13.8 per cent as associate professor, and 16.8 per cent as assistant professor.

The greatest number of projects are listed in the field of Social Psychology, followed by

per cent reported three or more projects. In a few instances projects were reported in groups by the heads of research agencies; for example, The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., reported 21 projects and the Popula-

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF PROJECTS REPORTED IN 1946, 1947, AND 1948  
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO FIELDS OF SOCIOLOGY

Field of Sociology	Number of Projects		
	1948	1947	1946
Social Psychology	101	92	87
Population	85	62	35
History and Theory	72	82	50
Marriage and Family	60	54	40
Community	49	53	*
Rural Sociology	47	55	40
Industrial Sociology	46	34	13
Criminology and Juvenile Delinquency	37	32	23
Educational Sociology	35	35	27
Methods of Research	35	38	38
Urban Sociology and Ecology	34	24	53*
Political Sociology	33	40	39
Public Opinion	31	6	Not Grouped
Social Problems	31	55	32
Sociology of Religion	28	19	14
Race and Ethnic Relations	20	22**	Not Grouped
Health and Medical Problems	12	Not Grouped	Not Grouped
Cultural Sociology and Anthropology	9**	Not Grouped	Not Grouped
Standards and Levels of Living	7	Not Grouped	Not Grouped
Social Change	3	4	Not Grouped
Miscellaneous	14	7	7
Total	789	714	495

\* The Community was grouped with Urban Sociology and Ecology in 1946.

\*\* Cultural Sociology was grouped with Race, Ethnic and Cultural Relations in 1947.

Population (Table 3). Twenty-four per cent of all projects fall into these two fields. Projects in Social Psychology increased 10 per cent over last year while those in Population increased 37 per cent. On the other hand, projects in History and Theory declined from 82 in 1947 to 72 in 1948.

Of the total number reporting projects, 68.5 per cent reported only one project and only 7.8

per cent reported three or more projects. In a few instances projects were reported in groups by the heads of research agencies; for example, The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., reported 21 projects and the Popula-

#### Committee on Research:

NATHAN L. WHETTEN, *Chairman*

PHILIP HAUSER

RAYMOND F. SLETTIO

CONRAD TAEUBER

DOROTHY S. THOMAS

ROBERT F. WINCH

## B. RESEARCH PROJECTS REPORTED BY MEMBERS IN 1948

As in previous years, the titles of projects have been classified according to the first choice of their authors unless this appeared to be inconsistent with the descriptive information. Also, as in the past, the titles have been listed in the author's own words. The titles in each section

are arranged alphabetically by authors.

Item (d) of the Census Schedule requested information on the progress of each project. This information is coded after each project in the list below for the convenience of members who may wish to know the status of a particular

study. The code is in four letters: (1) The first Y (Yes), N (No), or P (Partly) shows whether or not the data have been collected; (2) The second Y, N, or P indicates if the manuscript has been drafted or not; if N or P is listed, the probable date of availability is shown in parentheses; (3) the last Y or N states whether or not the author has arranged publication before De-

cember 31, 1948. Thus a project for which data are collected but for which the manuscript will not be available until November of this year and for which no publication arrangements have been concluded would be designated: YN(Nov. 48)N. An O indicates "no information" on the item involved.

### I. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

**The Problem of Conservatism-Radicalism in American Social Psychology, 1907-1946.** Paul L. Adams, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina. YY(O)N

**Southern Sociologists: Human.** Paul L. Adams, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina. PP(O)N

**Psychological Motives in the Fiction of Julian Green.** Milton C. Albrecht, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**Vertical Mobility Within a Profession.** Philip J. Allen, Mary Washington College, University of Virginia, Fredericksburg, Virginia. PP (Mar. 49)N

**An Investigation of Social Values.** Helena I. T. Bailie, Sampson College, Sampson, N.Y. PP(Sept. 48)N

**The Relationship between Family Assembly Patterns and Family Adjustment Scores of High School Seniors.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**The Drinking and Dating Habits of Upper Class College Women.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Personality Traits and Class Background of Children Most Accepted and Most Rejected by Their Classmates at the Sixth Grade Level.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**The Limits of Fashion Control.** Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Social Relations and Attitudes of Panamanians and Americans in Panama.** John Biesanz, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. YY(O)Y

**The Development of a Group Diagnostic Scale.** Herbert A. Bloch, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y. YP(Oct. 48)N

**A Sociological Theory of Personality.** Herbert A. Bloch, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y. YP(Oct. 48)N

**Physiognomy: Its Perception and Valuation.** John T. Blue, Jr., Howard University, Washington, D.C. YP(O)N

**Ambivalence and Contradictions in Stereotypes.** John T. Blue, Jr., Howard University, Washington, D.C. YP(Dec. 48)N

**A Method of Determining Attitudes Toward Self.** John T. Blue, Jr., Howard University, Washington, D.C. YY(O)O

**A Study of Attitudes Toward Religious Radio Broadcasts in the Los Angeles Area, 1943 and 1948.** Floyd B. Boice, Los Angeles Baptist Theological Seminary, East Pasadena, California. PP(Jan. 49)N

**Personality: An Introduction to Social Psychology.** Hubert Bonner, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. YY(O)Y

**Paranoia: A Social-Psychological Study.** Hubert Bonner, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. PN(Aug. 49)N

**Mixing Frames of Reference.** Lawrence D. Boyer, University of Nebraska, Cortland, Nebraska. YY(O)N

**The Image of America as Reflected in the Writings of Foreign Observers.** Joseph Bram, New York University, New York, N.Y. PP (Dec. 48)N

**Sociology of Art.** Joseph H. Bunzel, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania. YP(O)N

**Phybiological Investigation of the Causal Factors Underlying Individual and Social Maladaptation, with Special Emphasis on the Neuromuscular Modifications Involved.** Trigant Burrow, M.D., The Lifwynn Foundation, Westport, Connecticut. YY(O)Y

**Attitude Change as a Function of Membership Group Identification.** W. W. Charters, Jr., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. YP(June 48)N

**A Study of Negro-White Adjustments.** Walter R. Chivers, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. PP(O)N

**Emotion and Reason in the Social Forces.** Samuel Chugerman, 44 Butler Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. YO(Dec. 48)N

**Comparing Racial Stereotypes Developed Under Different Social and Cultural Conditions.** J. Walter Cobb, University of Southern California, Torrance, California. PN(Jan. 50)N

**Emergent Personality: A Symbolic Interactionist Theory of Behavior.** Walter Coutu, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)O

**The Structure and Dynamics of Personality.**



Walter Coutu, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YP(O)O

**Social Determinants in the Preference of Binary Color Combinations.** Irving Crespi and Harold Mendelsohn, Hofstra College, Rockaway Beach, N.Y. and American Jewish Committee. YO(July 48)N

**The Basic Conception of Self and the Flexibility of Role Palying.** Bingham Dai, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. NN(Dec. 48)O

**Some Social Factors in the Development of Genius.** Sanford Dornbusch, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Sept. 48)N

**The Differential Class Appeal of Motion Picture Hero-Types.** Frederick Elkin, Motion Picture Association of America, Hollywood, California. PN(O)N

**Dynamics of Prejudice.** J. B. Gittler, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. PM(O)N

**A Social-psychological Study of the Effects of Concentration and Extermination Camp Experience.** Jacob Goldstein and others, Conference on Jewish Relations, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. PP(O)O

**The Struggle for Free Schools in the U.S.: A Sociological Interpretation.** John R. Gordon, Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee. YP(1949)N

**Personality Correlates of Social Attitudes.** Harison G. Gough, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. YN(Feb. 49)N

**Program Participation—A Measure of the Effectiveness of Organizations (Red Cross Chapters).** Raymond F. Gould, American Red Cross, 710 Warburton Avenue, Yonkers, N.Y. PN(Dec. 48)N

**A Study of the Relationship Between Theological Doctrine (Religious Belief) and Social, Political and Economic Attitudes.** W. Edgar Gregory, 220 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California. NN(Dec. 49)N

**The Effect of Social Contact Upon Attitudes Toward Foreign Groups.** Paul M. Gustafson, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota. PP(Aug. 48)N

**Effects of Pre-Weaning Nursing Deprivation on Maternal and Hoarding Behavior in Rats.** Henry Guze, Long Island University, Brooklyn, N.Y. YP(Nov. 48)N

**Predictability of Personality Traits by Marriage Partners.** Henry Guze, Long Island University, Brooklyn, N.Y. PN(Winter 48)N

**A Study of Personal Character Among the Japanese.** Douglas G. Haring, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. PN(O)N

**An Experimental Study of Covert Behavior.** John James, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. PN(Jan. 49)N

**Charity Rackets.** Samuel H. Jameson, California Intelligence Bureau, Los Angeles, California. YP(Nov. 48)N

**A Study of the Relationship between White Collar Attitudes and Community and Work Organization Size.** Luther T. Jansen, Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania. PN(June 49)N

**Sociometry and Human Relations Results in Schools.** Helen H. Jennings, American Council on Education, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**Attitude Changes of High School Youth Over a Nine-Year Period.** Harold E. Jones, University of California, Berkeley, California. YP(Aug. 48)N

**Social Aspects of Sympathy.** Edwin L. Kantz, Mary Hardin-Baylor College, Belton, Texas. PP(Sept. 48)N

**Sociology of Hero Worship.** Orrin E. Klapp, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota. PP(Sept. 49)N

**Sociodrama as Social Catalyst.** Abraham E. Knepler, University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Connecticut. PP(Sept. 48)N

**A Study of Personality Development in an Unassimilable Group: Application and Synthesis of Certain Freudian and Meadian Concepts in a Study of the Old Order Amish.** Manfred H. Kuhn, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. PN(Nov. 48)N

**University of Iowa Negro Student Attitudes toward "Favorable" and "Unfavorable" Racial Stereotypes and toward the Mass Media which Employ Them.** Manfred H. Kuhn, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. YN(Aug. 48)N

**Sociological Implications of a Student-Needs Survey.** Carlo L. Lastrucci, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California. YP(July 48)N

**Measurement of Acculturation of Latin American Students Studying in the United States.** Charles P. Loomis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YY(O)Y

**Field Study of an Occupational Sub-culture.** Alfred M. Lee, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. YP(Fall 48)N

**Project on German Extermination Camps.** Irving F. Lukoff, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. PP(Oct. 48)Y

**Analysis of the Assumptions Underlying Five Organizations in the Field of Intergroup Relations.** Elizabeth L. Lyman, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri. YP(Aug. 48)N

**The Setny People: Studies of an Italian Immigrant Group and Its Mountain Community of Origin.** Leopold M. Macari, Veterans Hospital, Bronx, N.Y. YY(O)N

**Western Ohio Health and Human Development Research Program.** A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. PY(O)Y

**Personality Adjustment of Farm, Village, and City Children.** A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YY(O)Y

**The Life Cycle of Successful Negro Leaders**

- in a Southern City. J. Masuoka, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. YP(O)N
- Social-Psychological Factors in the Alcoholics Anonymous Program.** Milton A. Maxwell, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YN(Oct. 48)N
- The New Middle Class: A Study of White Collar People.** C. Wright Mills, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YP(Spring 49)O
- The New Men of Power: A Collective Portrait of America's Labor Leaders.** C. Wright Mills, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y
- Social Psychology Studies in Migration.** C. Wright Mills, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YP(July 48)O
- Mental Hygiene Aspects of Staff Relationships Within a Psychiatric Hospital.** Paul Mundy, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. YY(O)N
- The Commercial Public Opinion Poll as a Communication Medium.** Robert C. Myers, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey. PP(Sept. 48)N
- An Investigation of Factors in the personal and Social Adjustment of Old People in the Home for Aged.** Ju Shu Pan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Dec. 48)N
- Patterns of Suicide and Homicide in 86 American Cities.** Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas. YP(June 48)N
- Levels of Aspiration—A Comparative Analysis.** Alvin W. Rose, Tennessee State College, Nashville, Tennessee. YP(Dec. 48)N
- The Interrelationship of Psychological Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Modern Woman.** Rev. Louis A. Ryan, O.P., Dominican Institute of Sociology, Washington, D.C. YP(Aug. 48)N
- Balkan Rural Attitudes—(Specifically Yugoslavia and Bulgaria).** Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. YY(O)Y
- The Internment Camp: A Sociological Study of the Effects of Internment on Civilians Interned in the Philippines.** Alvin H. Scaff, Pomona College, Claremont, California. YP(Sept. 48)N
- A Case of "Successful" Race Relations.** (Tentative title.) Louis Schneider, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y. NN(O)N
- The Nature and Function of Rumor.** Tamotsu Shibutani, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YP(Dec. 48)N
- The Public's Use of and Reaction to Market News Service and Information.** Edgar A. Schuler, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. NN(Oct. 48)N
- A Psychiatric and Sociological Study of a Mental Hospital Ward.** Morris S. Schwartz, Washington School of Psychiatry, Rockville, Maryland. YN(Dec. 50)O
- Rewards in Social Group Work.** Richard M. Seaman, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota. YY(O)N
- Social Class and Mental Hygiene.** Melvin Seeman, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YP(Oct. 48)N
- Vocational Choices of Rural Youth: A Study in Social Motivation.** William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. PN(Nov. 48)N
- Social Participation and Social Attitudes.** Harry M. Shulman, City College of New York, New York, N.Y. PO(O)O
- Adjustment of Unemployed Veterans.** Erwin O. Smigel, New York University, New York, N.Y. YN(Sept. 48)N
- Society and the Individual.** Anselm Strauss, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. YP(O)N
- Susceptibility and Non-Susceptibility to Feelings of Loneliness.** Anselm Strauss, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. YP(O)N
- Some Sociological Concomitants of Excessive Drinking; as Revealed in the Life History of an Itinerant Inebriate.** Robert Straus, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. YY(O)Y
- The Concept of Human Nature in Sociological Literature: A Conceptual Framework for an Analysis of Human Relations.** Samuel M. Strong, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota. PP(Oct. 48)N
- An Exploratory Investigation of the Socio-Psychological Problems of Adjustment of Older People.** Clark Tibbitts, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. PN(O)N
- Society and Human Nature: A Sociological Approach to Social Psychology.** William L. Troyer, Albion College, Albion, Michigan. YP(Jan. 49)N
- A Social Psychological Study of Reading and Library Usage in Lenawee County, Michigan.** Gus Turbeville, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(Dec. 48)N
- Problems of Adjustment in a Civilian Internment Camp.** (Tentative title.) Elizabeth H. Vaughan, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina. YY(O)Y
- Social Role.** Roland L. Warren, Alfred University, Alfred, N.Y. YY(O)N
- Social Processes in the Turkish Reformation.** Donald E. Webster, American Embassy, Ankara, Turkey. PN(O)N
- Some Basic Requisites of the Social Process.** S. Kirson Weinberg, Roosevelt College of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YP(Sept. 48)N
- A Social Psychological Analysis of the Forms of Psychotherapy.** S. Kirson Weinberg, Roosevelt College of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YP(Sept. 48)N

**The Role of Gangs and Crowds in the Adjustment Patterns of High School Youths and Their Bearing Upon Group Work Activities and Programs.** (Tentative title.) Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. YN(Aug. 48)N

**Social Stratification Among the Gangs of 1500 Teen Ageds.** Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. YP(Aug. 48)N

**Foundations of Personality.** Robert F. Winch, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. NN(O)N

**Content Analyses of Mass Communication Media: Newspapers, Radio, and others.** Kimball Young, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. YY(O)N

**The Mormon Polygynous Family: Social Psychological Analysis.** Kimball Young, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. YP(1950)N

**A Sociometric Study of Spanish-Anglo Relations Among School Children in Colorado.** Leslie D. Zeleny, Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colorado. YN(July 48)N

## II. POPULATION

**Differential Birth Rates in New York State, 1865.** Wendell H. Bash, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. PP(O)N

**Urbanization and Secularization of the South.** John C. Belcher, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi. PP(Sept. 48)N

**Analysis of Differentials in Fertility and Family Size in Farm Operator Families Classified According to Farm Size, Income, Tenure, etc. (1945 and 1947.)** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Occupational Attachments of Farm Operators.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Preparation of War Records Monograph on Farm Population During World War II and Postwar Projections.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Analysis of Labor Force Participation Rates of Migrants from Farms to Congested Areas.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Family Living Arrangements and Characteristics of Occupied Dwelling Units and Vacancies in the United States: May 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. NN(O)Y

**Dependence on Agriculture of Population and Households, by Farm Residence: December, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)O

**The Current Status of State and Local Population Estimates in the Census Bureau.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(O)Y

**Estimated Number of Households and Families Each Year, 1900 to 1960.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Characteristics of Population by Marital Status and Relationship: April, 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington,

D.C. YN(O)Y

**Characteristics of Households, Families, and Subfamilies: April, 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Fertility: April, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YY(O)Y

**Farm Population Changes: 1940-1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YY(O)Y

**Estimated Population of the United States, by Regions, Divisions, and States: July 1, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Estimates of the Population 5 to 17 Years Old for Continental United States, and for the Territories and Selected Possessions: July 1, 1946.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Forecasts of the Population of the United States: 1948-1960.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Estimates of the Population of Continental United States for Selected Dates: April 1, 1940 to May 1, 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Estimated Population of the United States, by Age, Color, and Sex: July 1, 1946 and 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Estimates of the Population of the Territories and Possessions of the United States: July 1, 1946 and 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**School Enrollment of the Civilian Population: October, 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. NN(O)O

**Internal Migration in the United States: April, 1947 to April, 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Forecasts of Elementary and High School Enrollment, by Grade, for the United States: April, 1948 to 1960.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Illiteracy and Educational Attainment of the**

**Civilian Population: October, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(O)Y

**School Enrollment of the Civilian Population: October, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(O)Y

**Marital and Household Characteristics of the Labor Force, April, 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Employment Characteristics of Migrants, April, 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Regional Distribution of the Civilian Labor Force of the United States: April, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YY(O)Y

**Full-time and Part-time Employment, March, 1948.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(O)Y

**Income of the Nonfarm Population: 1946.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YY(O)Y

**Work Experience of the Population in 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(O)Y

**Sampling Variability of Estimates of Labor Force Characteristics in Selected Metropolitan Districts: April, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YY(O)Y

**Sampling Variability of Estimates of Population Characteristics in Selected Metropolitan Districts: April, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YY(O)Y

**Sampling Variability of Estimates of Housing Characteristics in Selected Metropolitan Districts: April, 1947.** Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YY(O)Y

**Differential Mortality in Mississippi.** John N. Burrus, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. PP(O)N

**Composition and Characteristics of Washington Farm Population with Special Reference to Family and Housing Problems.** Vernon Davies, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YN(Dec. 48)N

**Population Problems of the Indian Peninsula.** Kingsley Davis, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. YY(O)Y

**Population Trends in Puerto Rico.** Kingsley Davis and Jose L. Janer, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. PN(June 49)N

**Practices and Motives in Puerto Rican Fertility and Migration: A Field Study.** Kingsley Davis and Paul K. Hatt, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. YN(June 49)N

**Quantitative Patterns in Migration.** Kingsley Davis and Paul K. Hatt, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. PN(Dec. 48)N

**The Content of and Procedures for the 1950 Census of the Americas.** Calvert L. Dedrick,

Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. PP(O)Y

**U. S. Immigration, Illustrating a Social Process Normally Distributed in Time and Accelerating Logarithmically to Predictable Completion.** Stuart C. Dodd, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YY(O)N

**A Study of Social Process and Change Among the Basques of Southwest Idaho.** John B. Edlefsen, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YP(Aug. 48)N

**The Future Jewish Population of the U. S.** S. Joseph Fauman, Jewish Community Council of Detroit, Michigan. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Population Problems.** Bion H. Francis, Wellington Sears Company, Winchester, Massachusetts. YP(O)O

**A Study of Differentials in Migration at Points of Origin and Destination with the Use of Control Groups.** Ronald Freedman and A. Hawley, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. YN(Nov. 48)N

**Duration of Marriage, Widowhood, and Divorce.** Paul C. Glick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. YN(Nov. 48)N

**Differential Fertility, Marriage and Divorce Among Wisconsin's Rural Population.** George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YY(Nov. 48)O

**Development of Immigration Law and Policy of the U. S. E. P. Hutchinson,** University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. PP(O)N

**Study of the Adjustment of Emigre Intellectuals.** E. P. Hutchinson and Donald Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. PN(Fall 48)N

**A Study of Inter- and Intra-State Migration Affecting the State of Washington.** Chris Jessup and Vernon Davies, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YN(Dec. 48)N

**Investigation of the Social Characteristics of Immigrants Who Came to State of Washington between 1935 and 1940.** Chris Jessup, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YY(O)Y

**The Mexicans in the United States: A Bibliography.** Robert C. Jones, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C. YP(Sept. 48)Y

**Analysis of Mississippi Population for the Lay Reader.** Morton B. King, Jr. and John C. Belcher, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi. YN(Sept. 48)Y

**The Relation of Family Planning and Fertility to Economic Tension and Economic Security.** Clyde V. Kiser and P. K. Whelpton, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, N.Y. and Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio, respectively. YN(1949)N

**The Relation of Fertility to Socio-Economic Attributes of Couples of Given Fertility Plan-**



ning Status. Clyde V. Kiser and P. K. Whelpton, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, N.Y. and Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio, respectively. YP(1948)N

**The People of Tennessee: A Study of Population Trends.** John B. Knox, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee. YP(Oct. 48)Y

**An Analysis of the Population of Atlanta, Georgia.** C. A. McMahan, University of Georgia, Atlanta, Georgia. YP(Jan. 49)N

**Social Status and Population Changes in Two Kentucky Counties.** Merton D. Oyler, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky. YY(O)Y

**Study of the Population of Delaware.** Frederick B. Parker, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware. PN(June 49)N

**Differential Fertility Among Missouri Farm Families.** C. Terrence Pihlblad, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri. YN(Sept. 48)N

**Socio-Economic Correlates of Migration.** Daniel O. Price, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. YN(1950)N

**A Demographic Analysis of the Population of the State of Sao Paulo, Brazil.** Paul H. Price, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. YY(O)Y

**A Study of the Statistical and Sociological Assumptions Underlying the Projection of Fertility Rates with Special Reference to the Height-Slope Method of Projection.** Georges Sabagh, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. PP(Aug. 48)N

**Migration Among Ohio Subregions: 1935-40.** Henry S. Shryock, Jr., Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(Nov. 48)N

**Projections of Elementary and High School Enrollment by Grade to 1960.** Henry S. Shryock, Jr., Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(Nov. 48)N

**Factors in the Underenumeration of Males of Military Age.** Henry S. Shryock, Jr., Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(Nov. 48)N

**Colombia: People and Institutions.** T. Lynn Smith, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. YP(O)N

**The People of Louisiana.** T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, and Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, respectively. YP(O)Y

**Indifference Curve Analysis and Natalty Stimulation.** Joseph J. Spengler, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. PP(O)N

**Military and Population Theory.** Joseph J. Spengler, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. PP(O)N

**Intra-Urban Mobility in Omaha.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. YY(O)N

**The Population of Japan. A Study in Comparative Demography.** Irene B. Taeuber and Frank W. Notestein, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. YP(O)N

**Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement.** Dorothy S. Thomas, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. YP(Sept. 48)Y

**The Statistics of Abortion.** Christopher Tietze, M.D., National Committee on Maternal Health, Baltimore, Maryland. PN(1949)N

**The Relation Between the Distribution of Births by Order of Birth in the United States and in Upstate New York.** P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser, Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio and Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, N.Y., respectively. PN(Aug. 48)Y

**The Effect of Increases in Age Specific Marriage Rates of Single Women on Net Reproduction Rates Based on (1) Age-Specific Birth Rates, and (2) Age-Parity-Marriage-Fecundity Specific Birth Rates.** P. K. Whelpton, Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio. YP(O)Y

**The Fertility of Successive Cohorts of Native White Women in the United States.** P. K. Whelpton, Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio. PP(O)Y

**The Relation Between the Tendency to Plan Family Size and Number of Children Desired and: (1) the desire of children for brothers and sisters, (2) the feeling that children interfere with personal freedom, (3) the belief that an only child is handicapped, (4) the desire to insure against childlessness, (5) feelings regarding the sex of children, (6) the extent to which interest in children is a matter of personal satisfaction.** P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser, Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio, and Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, N.Y., respectively. YN(1949)N

**The Extent of Use, and the Effectiveness, of Various Types of Contraceptives among Native-White Protestant Couples in a Large City.** P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser, Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio and Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, N.Y. respectively. YN(1949)N

**Population Trends in Connecticut.** Nathan L. Whetten and Valery Webb, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut. YP(O)Y

**The Rural-Nonfarm Population.** Vincent H. Whitney, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. PP(Nov. 48)O

**Studies in Internal Migration.** Vincent H. Whitney, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. YN(Nov. 48)N

**A Social and Psychological Study of Sterilization Practice in North Carolina.** Moya Woodside, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. YP (July 48)O

## III. HISTORY AND THEORY OF SOCIOLOGY

**Some Empirical Tests of a Theory of Social Stratification.** Stuart Adams, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. PP(June 49)N

**Decline of Folkways in American Behavior and the Rise of Technicways.** Brooks Anderson, Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina. NN(Summer 49)N

**Elementary Sociology: Society and Man.** Joseph K. Balogh and J. Woodrow Sayre, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y. and Clymer High School, Clymer, N.Y., respectively. YN(O)Y

**A Sociological Analysis of Best Sellers—1940-47.** Margaret M. Bedard, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. PN(1949)N

**The Techniques of Symbolization and Analysis in Sociological Research and Theory.** John T. Blue, Jr., Howard University, Washington, D.C. YY(1948)N

**Science and 19th Century English Industrialism.** Barbara Bowdrey, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YP(Oct. 48)N

**Social History of the Theater.** Joseph H. Bunzel, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania. YY(Dec. 48)N

**The Meaning of Culture.** Arthur W. Calhoun, Sterling College, Sterling, Kansas. PP(June 48)N

**Systematizing Sociology.** Stuart C. Dodd, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YY(O)N

**Socio-Economic Study of the New England Fisheries.** Richard E. DuWors, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. PP(O)O

**A Study of Two Adjacent, Competing Communities.** Richard E. DuWors, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. PP(Sept. 48)O

**Development of Western Social Thought.** John M. Foskett, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. PP(O)N

**Frame of Reference for Efforts to Promote Popular Acceptance of World Government.** Byron L. Fox, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. PP(Dec. 48)N

**The Role of Voluntary Associations in the Integration of American Society: A Preliminary Investigation.** Sherwood D. Fox, New York University, New York, N.Y. PN(1948)N

**Problems in Sociology of Old Age.** H. J. Friedsam, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. PP(June 49)N

**Contemporary Sociology Theory.** Joseph B. Gittler and Ernest Manheim, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YP(O)O

**The Meaning of Egoism and of Altruism in Social Theory, Education, and Propaganda.** Alvin Good, Northwestern State College of Louisiana, Natchitoches, Louisiana. PN(Nov. 48)N

**Medicine as a "Social Science" and the Science of Social Medicine. A History of a Confusion in Terms.** Myron K. Gordon, SGO of the Army, Preventive Medicine Division, Washington, D.C. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Some Aspects of German Sociology Under Nazism, 1933-1941.** Don J. Hager, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YY(O)Y

**Some Contributions of Ethnological Theory to a Sociology of Knowledge.** Don J. Hager, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YP(Sept. 48)O

**Editing for publication of translation of Part IV of NIHON SHAKAISHI (Japanese Social History) by Takikawa (Tokyo, 1935).** Douglas G. Haring, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. YY(Fall 48)Y

**Selection, Revision, and Editing of important passages from rough draft translation of NIHON OYOBI HANTAIHEIYO MINZOKU NO KENKYU by B. Horioka (Tokyo, 1927).** Douglas G. Haring, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. YN(1948)N

**Society and Social Change in the Writings of St. Thomas, Ward, Sumner, and Cooley.** Mary Edward Healy (Sister), College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota. YY(O)Y

**Work and Power: A Historical-Analytical Study of their Institutionalization.** Frederick W. Henssler, Ringoes, New Jersey. YP(O)N

**An Operational Analysis of Human Society.** J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. PP(O)N

**The Acculturation and Assimilation of the Immigrant into American Culture.** George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YP(O)P

**The Struggle for Independence in Latin America: A Sociological Interpretation.** Rex D. Hopper, Brooklyn College, New York, N.Y. PP(O)N

**Social Organization of Small Groups.** George C. Homans, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. YP(O)N

**Status and Societal Structure.** Samuel H. Jameson, California Intelligence Bureau, Los Angeles, California. YY(O)N

**Types of Social Structure.** Leland H. Jenks, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts. PN(O)N

**Inter-American Cooperation in the Social Science Field with Special Reference to Sociology.** Robert C. Jones, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C. YN(Oct. 48)Y

**A Semi-Popular Account of Sociological Theories.** Samuel Koenig, Brooklyn College, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**A Revision of the Theory of Social Institutions as Applied to Modern Societies.** Manford

H. Kihn, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. PN(Oct. 48)N

**Relations between Culture, Public Opinion, and Social Action.** Alfred M. Lee, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. YP(Fall 48)N

**FEPCC and Negro Employment: An Examination of Sumner's Thesis that Legislation Must Follow the Mores.** Frank F. Lee, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. PN(May 49)N

**An Institutional Approach to Social Configuration.** Shu-Ching Lee, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)N

**Occupational Characteristics of the Policy-Making Bodies of Social Institutions in Franklin County, Ohio.** Susan S. McAllister, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YP(July 48)N

**The Social Theory of John Wesley Powell.** Paul Meadows, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. PN(O)N

**Catholic Social Principals.** Franz H. Mueller, College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota. PP(Jan. 49)N

**Folk Sociology.** Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. PP(Sept. 49)N

**The Technicways of Modern Man.** Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. YY(Nov. 48)N

**Society.** Charles H. Page and R. M. MacIver, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. YY(O)Y

**Class and Caste in the United States.** Charles H. Page, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. YP(1949)N

**Occupational Status and the Content and Style of Written Expression.** Harold W. Pfautz, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. PN(June 49)N

**Schools of Sociological Thought.** Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. YP(Aug. 48)N

**The Idea of Social Medicine.** George Rosen, M.D., Department of Health, New York, N.Y. YP(O)N

**Sociological Aspects of Public Health Administration.** George Rosen, M.D., Department of Health, New York, N.Y. PN(Oct. 48)N

**History of Western Social Theory.** Eva J. Ross, Trinity College, Washington, D.C. YY(O)N

**The Merit System and the Mores.** Waldo Sommers, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. YY(O)N

**Types, Variety, Techniques and Factors of Altruistic Experience: A) 1,000 American Good Neighbors; B) Experimental Study of Efficiency of Various Techniques of Altruization.** P. A. Sorokin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. YP(1949)O

**A Comparative Study of Some Contemporary**

**American Sects, with Special Emphasis upon Jehovah's Witnesses.** Theodore W. Sprague, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y. PP(O)N

**Social Philosophy in Outline—a translation of Sozialphilosophie im Umrisse by Ludwig Gumplowicz, with an Introduction by the translator.** Harold H. Story, Office of Los Angeles City Schools, Los Angeles, California. YY(O)N

**A Conceptualization and Hypothetical Structure for the Cultural Institution.** Robert Straus, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. YY(O)N

**Rural-Urban Conflict as Illustrated by Atlanta and Certain Selected Rural Counties of Georgia.** Willis A. Sutton, Jr., Emory University, Emory University, Georgia. NN(June 50)N

**Social Theory of Bronislaw Malinowski.** Konstantin Symonowicz. Wilkes College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. PP(Dec. 48)N

**Culture and Personality in Eastern-European Politics.** Dinko Tomasic, Stanford University, Stanford University, California. YY(O)Y

**Cultural and Psychological Foundations of Soviet Politics.** Dinko Tomasic, Stanford University, Stanford University, California. YO(O)N

**The Social Thought of the Brehon Laws.** Margaret M. Toole, College of Notre Dame, Baltimore, Maryland. PP(Oct. 48)N

**Tension and Equilibrium in Caste Structure.** Melvin M. Tumin, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Tribal Organization in Yugoslavia: A Study in Social Change.** Alexander Vucinich, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YP(Dec. 48)N

**High Lights of the Economic and Social Development of Arkansas During the Formative Period.** Henry F. White, John Brown University, Siloam Springs, Arkansas. YY(O)N

**The Economic and Social Development of Arkansas Prior to 1836.** Henry F. White, John Brown University, Siloam Springs, Arkansas. YY(O)N

**Alimony, Women, and Civilization.** Charles Wilner, 175 West 72 Street, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**Sociological Analysis: An Introductory Case Book.** Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. YP(Sept. 48)O

**San Cristobal, New Mexico: A Study in the Theory of Culture Patterns.** Kurt H. Wolff, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. PP(Dec. 48)N

**The Sociology of Knowledge: History and Theory.** Kurt H. Wolff, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. PP(Apr. 49)N

**Georg Simmel: Sociology.** Kurt H. Wolff, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. PP(June 49)N

**A Critique of *Naven* by Gregory Bateson.** Kurt H. Wolff, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YY(O)Y

**The Unique and the General: Toward a Philosophy of Sociology.** Kurt H. Wolff, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YY(O)Y

**Arthur Child's Sociology of Knowledge.** Kurt H. Wolff, Ohio State University, Columbus,

Ohio. YY(O)N

**The Sociology of Intellectual Behavior.** Kurt H. Wolff, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. PP(1950)N

**Evolution of Social Roles and Expansion of Social Groups in the Modern World.** Florian Znaniecki, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. YP(O)O

#### IV. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

**University and College Courses in Marriage and the Family: An Analysis of Their Conceptual Content and Organization.** E. Theodore Bauer, State University of Iowa, Ames, Iowa. PP(O)N

**Preparation for Death as Related to Class, Religious Affiliation, Age, and Family Size.** Jessie Bernard and Paul Barner, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. PN (June 48)N

**The Psychology of Feminine Sex Experience.** Jessie Bernard and Esther Hardenbergh, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Marital Relationships of Americans with Panamanians in the Canal Zone and in Panama.** John Biesanz, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. PN(Nov. 48)N

**A Study of Homogamy in Temperamental Characteristics and its Relation to Marital Adjustment.** Norman B. Brice, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Dec. 48)N

**Income of Families and Persons in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan District: 1947.** (Tentative title.) Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YP(O)Y

**Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1947.** (Tentative title.) Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Washington, D.C. YN(O)Y

**Building for Successful Marriage and Family Life.** Walter R. Chivers and others, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. YP(O)Y

**Marriage Analysis.** Harold T. Christensen, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana. PP(Dec. 48)N

**Shifts Made by Families in Size and Type of Dwelling Unit in Relation to Changes in Family Composition.** Joseph Cohen, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YN (Aug. 48)N

**The Present Status and Future of Research in the Family.** Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. PN(Feb. 49)N

**Marriage Counseling Practices of Selected Ministers from 1946 to 1948.** Charles P. Cressman, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. PP (O)N

**An Analysis of American Text Books in the Sociology of the Family.** Bernard N. Desenberg,

Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. PP (Aug. 48)N

**A Scale for the Measurement of Dynamic Stability in Family Life.** Lowell H. Dunigan, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YP(June 48)N

**Correctional Practices of Parents.** Wendell L. East, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Michigan. PN(Oct. 48)N

**Traditional and Developmental Conceptions of Fatherhood.** Rachel A. Elder, Amsterdam Junior High School, Amsterdam, N.Y. YP(O)O

**Traditional and Developmental Conceptions of Family Roles.** Rachel A. Elder, Amsterdam Junior High School, Amsterdam, N.Y. NN(O)N

**The Personal-Social Experience of Twins.** Thomas D. Eliot, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. PN(Nov. 48)N

**Some Significant Correlates of Love and Family Attitudes and Behavior.** Albert Ellis, New Jersey State Hospital, Greystone Park, New Jersey. YY(O)N

**The Effect of Tuberculosis upon the Economy of the Family.** Ralph C. Fletcher and Dr. MacNamara, University of Michigan, Detroit, Michigan. YP(Aug. 48)Y

**Some Factors Associated with Duration of Marriage.** Duncan V. Gillies, Stanford University, Stanford University, California. YP(O)N

**Remarriage and Level of Living.** Paul C. Glick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. YN(Nov. 48)N

**Post-Divorce Adjustment.** William J. Goode, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. PN (July 48)N

**A Comparison of the Marital Predictive Items and the Behavior Patterns of Divorced and Happily Married Individuals when Controlled for Certain Variables and when Not so Controlled.** William E. Hartman, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. YY(O)N

**Intra-Family Action Patterns of Farm Families.** Reuben Hill, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. NN(1954)N

**Family Ties and Class Position.** A. B. Hollingshead, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Marriage in New Haven, 1870-1940.** Ruby J. R. Kennedy, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut. YY(O)N



**Factors Making for Success or Failure in Marriage among Negroes in a Southern City.** Charles E. King, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina. PP(O)N

**Some Characteristics of Women in WHO'S WHO.** Clyde V. Kiser and Mary E. Rumpf, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, N.Y. PN (Nov. 48)N

**Residential Propinquity of White Mates at Marriage in Relation to Age and Occupation of Males, Columbus, Ohio, 1938 and 1946.** Marvin R. Koller, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YY(O)N

**Problem Behavior in Young Children, in Relation to Parents' Aims and Control Methods.** Ruth P. Koshuk, Office of Bellflower Public Schools, Bellflower, California. YP(July 48)N

**A Functional Analysis of the Family.** Eugene M. Kozin, New York University, New York, N.Y. PN(Oct. 48)N

**College Teacher as Marriage Counselor.** Herbert D. Lamson, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts. PN(O)N

**Mixed Marriages.** Judson T. Landis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(Sept. 48)N

**An Evaluation of Marriage Education.** Judson T. Landis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Attitudes and Values of Two Generations of Rural and Urban Women Concerning the Family.** Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YN(Dec. 48)N

**Social Institutions in the Primary Groups.** Shu-Ching Lee, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YN(Nov. 48)N

**Dating Practices and Scholastic Achievement on a University Campus.** S. H. Lowrie, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. YN(Aug. 48)N

**Dominance and Submissiveness in Marriage—A Study of the Role Relationship of Husband and Wife and its Relation to that of their Parents.** Yi-Chuang Lu, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YN(Dec. 48)N

**A Study of Rural Inter-marriage.** Simon Marcson, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y. YY(O)N

**Effect of War on Age at Marriage.** Walter C. McKain, Jr., University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut. YN(Oct. 48)N

**Courtship and Marriage: A Study of Social Relationships.** Francis E. Merrill, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. YY(O)Y

**Migrant Negro Youth: A Study in Culture Conflict and Accommodation, with Special Reference to Parent-Child Relationships.** Earl R. Moses, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland. YY(O)N

**The Promotion of Marital Adjustment in Men and Women as an Aid to Good Mental Health.**

Emily H. Mudd, Marriage Council of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. PN(48-49)N

**The Effects of War on Clients of a Marriage Council: The Study of 1033 Consecutive Cases, 1936-1944.** Emily H. Mudd, Marriage Council of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. YP(1949)N

**Study of a Delinquent and a Nondelinquent Group with Reference to Family Relationships of Each.** Martin H. Neumeyer and others, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. NN(O)N

**The Development of National Marriage and Divorce Statistics.** Samuel C. Newman, National Office of Vital Statistics, Washington, D.C. PN(O)N

**Occupations and Family Organization.** M. F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. PN(Sept. 48)N

**The Remarriage of Divorced Persons.** Meyer F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Measurement of Parent-Child (Adolescent) Relations.** Ivan Nye, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. PN(June 49)N

**Ethnic and Social Class Differences in Child Rearing Practices Among Rural Families.** William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Child Training and Personality Development in an Old American Rural Community.** William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YN(Oct. 48)N

**The Stepchild.** William C. Smith, Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon. YP(Dec. 48)N

**Family Life of the Negro in Omaha.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. OO(O)O

**A Direct vs. an Indirect Approach in Measuring Marital Adjustment.** Marvin J. Taves, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YY(O)O

**The Dynamics for the Increased Rate of Celibacy and Divorce in Our Society.** Max Weiner, 706 Saratoga Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. YY(O)N

**Family Counseling with Parents and Teachers of Pre-School Children.** Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. YP(June 48)N

**Social and Personality Characteristics of Courtship.** Robert F. Winch, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. YP(Dec. 48)N

**The Women of the Philippines.** Margaret M. Wood, Russell Sage College, Troy, N.Y. YP(O)N

**The Family of Tomorrow.** Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. YY(O)Y

## V. THE COMMUNITY

**Factors in the Moral Integration of Four American Cities.** Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. YN(Sept. 48)N

**A Study of the Local Juvenile Delinquency Situation.** Mell H. Atchley, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. PN(Sept. 48)N

**The Beloit (Wisconsin) Area.** Lloyd V. Ballard and others, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin. PN(O)N

**Social Organization of the Musical Profession in Chicago: Musicians, Audience, and Businessmen.** Howard S. Becker, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YP(O)O

**Jewish Communities of the United States.** Charles S. Bernheimer, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York, N.Y. YY(O)O

**Community Organization.** Gordon W. Blackwell, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. PN(1951)N

**Social Organization in a New Community of Fifty Professional Families.** Wilbur Brookover and A. C. Smucker, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YN(Fall 48)N

**Hawaii's Puerto Ricans.** Lee M. Brooks, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. YY(O)Y

**Concept of Housing (An Encyclopedic View).** Joseph H. Bunzel, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**A Study of Residential Mobility in Minneapolis, 1940-1948.** Theodore Caplow, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Industrialization in York County, South Carolina.** Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Social Participation in Monticello, Iowa.** J. Harold Ennis, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa. PN(Dec. 48)N

**Cemeteries in Box Elder and Summit Counties, Utah.** Jos. A. Geddes, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah. YN(1949)N

**Participation and Leadership in Plain City, Utah.** Jos. A. Geddes, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah. YN(1949)N

**Democracy in Daily Life.** David E. Henley, Earlham College, Earlham, Indiana. YP(July 48)Y

**The Mennonite Community at Archbold, Ohio.** Guy F. Hersherberger, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. PO(O)N

**Community Organization and Planning.** Arthur Hillman, Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)Y

**The Social Structure of A Campus.** Robert W. James, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. PP(O)N

**Comparative Description of Small Towns on the Basis of Student Papers.** Robert W. Janes,

University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. PN(O)N

**The Administrator and Group Life in the Planned Community.** Elmer H. Johnson, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YY(O)N

**Study of Protective Services for Children Provided by New York City Official Agencies.** Alfred J. Kahn, New York School of Social Work, New York, N.Y. YP(Aug. 48)N

**The Open-Country Fringe.** Solon T. Kimball, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YY(O)N

**Socio-Economic Factors Related to Community and Neighboring Relationships.** Morton B. King, Jr., University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi. YN(Sept. 48)N

**A Brief Analysis of the Role and Status of the Negro in the Hawaiian Community.** Lloyd L. Lee, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, T.H. YY(O)Y

**Social and Economic Survey of Four Northwestern Oklahoma Counties, Survey of Resources of Area, Extent of Utilization of Resources, Population Characteristics, Social Attitudes, Community Organization, etc.** Leonard Logan, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. YP(O)Y

**Social and Economic Survey of Norman, Oklahoma and Cleveland County.** Leonard Logan, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. PN(1948)O

**Community Analysis in Costa Rica.** Charles P. Loomis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YN(1949)N

**Timbuctoo, A Primitive City.** Horace Miner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Informal Neighborhood Organization and Voluntary Leadership in a Student Veterans Housing Project.** Carl E. Ortmeier, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YN(July 48)N

**Balkan Village: A Sociological Analysis of a Bulgarian Shopski Village.** Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. YY(O)Y

**Community Study of Barbourville, Kentucky.** Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. YY(O)N

**A Study of the Organization of the Council of Southern Mountain Workers.** Richard M. Seaman, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota. YY(O)N

**History of a Purely Industrial Community.** William A. Shannon, 32 Wyoming Street, Carbondale, Pennsylvania. PP(Dec. 50)N

**Social Characteristics of the Full-Members of a Suburban Community.** Luke M. Smith, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. YN(June 48)N

**Biographical Sketches of the Leaders of a**

**Metropolitan Suburb.** Luke M. Smith, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. YP(June 48)N

**Relations Between the Territorial Structuring and the Local Government of a Metropolitan Suburb.** Luke M. Smith, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. YP(Oct. 48)N

**Group Structure and Dynamics in a Faculty Housing Unit.** Orden Smucker, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YN(Sept. 48)N

**Interests, Aspirations, Cleavages, and Problems of the Youth of the Suburban Areas of Flint, Michigan.** Christopher Sower, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YY(O)Y

**Functional Roles of Outside Consultants in Local Community, Health, Welfare and Educational Work.** Robert L. Sutherland, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. PN(1950)N

**Personality Factors in Community Organization.** Robert L. Sutherland, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. PP(Nov. 48)N

**The Influence of Cooperatives on Community and Family Life.** W. J. Tudor, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Rural Community in the Soviet Union.** Alexander Vucinich, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. PP (June 49)N

**Social Organization in Hamilton County, Iowa.** Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YY(June 48)N

**Midwest Research Project: Study of a contemporary Midwestern community, its systems of social relations, the different kinds of social stratification, the characteristic problems in which people are involved at each age level.** W. Lloyd Warner, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)Y

**Alfred University Area Study Project.** Roland L. Warren, Alfred University, Alfred, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**A Study of Groups and their Relations in an Industrial Community.** Robin M. Williams, Jr., and others, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. NN(O)N

**A Study of Organizational Structure and Leadership in a Rural Community.** Robin M. Williams, Jr. and James E. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. YP(July 48)N

**Methods of Community Surveys.** Max Wolff, 212 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y. PO(Nov. 48)N

**Systematic Analysis of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.** Verne Wright, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. PN(O)N

## VI. RURAL SOCIOLOGY

**The Southern Poor White in Transition.** John O. Boynton, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. PP(Dec. 48)N

**The Family Farm in the United States.** Edmund de S. Brunner, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. PP(O)N

**Types of Rural Organization.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Determination of Relationship and Degree of Conformity Between the Local Units of Government and the Trade-Centered Communities in Goodhue County, Minnesota.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Rural Organization and Family Participation in Maine.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Rural Life in the United States by Major Type-Farming Areas.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A. Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Estimates and Analysis of the Hired Farm Working Force in 1947.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Study of Farm Wages by Type of Farm and**

**Type of Work.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Trends in Tenure Status of Farm Workers in the United States, 1880-1940.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Analysis of Recent Trends in Agricultural Employment and Wages.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Study of Postwar Developments in Agricultural Labor-Management Relations.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Study of Labor Mobility within Agriculture and between Agricultural and Industrial Jobs.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Bibliography on Problems of Extension of Social Insurance Legislation to Farmers and Farm Laborers.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**The Agricultural Labor Force in California: Seasonal and Cyclical Between Farm and Non-Farm Employment.** Bureau of Agricultural Eco-

nomics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Definition and Classification of Farms.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**An Analysis of 4-H Club Local Leadership.** Robert C. Clark, Jr., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. NN(Sept. 49)N

**A Comparative Study of Youth Attitude and Adjustment—5500 Washington High School Seniors Look at Their Problems.** Lloyd J. Elias, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YP(Oct. 48)Y

**In Search of Utopia: A Social History of the Mennonites in Manitoba.** E. K. Francis, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana. YY(O)O

**Rural Group Images.** Joseph B. Gittler, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. PN(O)O

**Cooperation in Resettlement and Rural Rehabilitation (Palestine and Saskatchewan, Canada).** Henrik F. Infield, Rural Settlement Institute, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**Rural and Urban School Trends in Nebraska from 1926-27 to 1946-47.** John P. Johansen, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. YN (July 48)Y

**Participation in Organized Activities in Selected Kentucky Localities.** Harold F. Kaufman, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. YY(O)Y

**China's Economic History.** Fenton Keyes, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N.Y. PP(O)N

**Recent Social Trends in the Town-Country Community Relations of Walworth County, Wisconsin.** J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YN(O)Y

**Characteristics Associated with the Life-cycle of Rural Families.** Olaf F. Larson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. YP(48-49)N

**An Experiment in Developing an Agricultural Extension Program.** Olaf F. Larson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. PN(Fall 49)N

**Social and Economic Factors Affecting Rural Schools of Illinois and the Problems of their Reorganization.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. PP(1951)N

**Diffusion and Use of Farm and Home Information by Low-Income Farm Operators.** Herbert F. Lionberger, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri. YY(O)Y

**Chronic Illness in Rural Missouri.** C. E. Lively and others, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri. YN(Nov. 48)N

**Application of Small Sample Technique to the Study of Illness.** C. E. Lively and others, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri. NN (O)N

**A Study of Ethnic Background and its Relationship to Contemporary Rural Minnesota.** Douglas G. Marshall, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota. PP(O)N

**Occupational Diversity in Rural Connecticut.** Walter C. McKain and Nathan L. Whetten, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut. YP(July 48)Y

**A Study of Local Units of Government in Relation to Community Areas in Goodhue County, Minnesota.** Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. PN (July 49)N

**The Country Bank: A Local Community Institution.** Joseph E. Nuquist, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YY(O)N

**The Relation of the Family Life-Cycle to Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Iowa Farm Families.** Carl E. Ortmeyer, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YY(O)N

**Bayou LaFourche: Its Peoples and Institutions.** Vernon J. Parenton and M. Taylor Matthews, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. YY(O)N

**The Rural French-Speaking People of Quebec and South Louisiana: A Comparative Study of Social Structure and Organization, with Emphasis on the Role of the Catholic Church.** Vernon J. Parenton, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. YY(O)N

**Acculturation among Wisconsin Ethnic Groups—A Comparative Study of the Danish and Polish Ethnic Stocks in Two Wisconsin Communities.** Harald A. Pedersen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Acculturation among Wisconsin Ethnic Groups—A Study of the Danish Ethnic Stock in Two Wisconsin Communities.** Harald A. Pedersen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Provisions for Security by Farm Families.** Nellie L. Perkins and Cleo Fitzsimmons, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois and Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, respectively. YP(O)N

**Some Factors Affecting the Vitality of 4-H Club Work in West Virginia.** Ward F. Porter, Jr., West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia. PN(Fall 48)N

**The Social Status and Prospects of Farm Laborers in Iowa.** Robert A. Rohwer, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. NN(July 49)N

**Family Factors in the Tenure Experience of the Farmers in Hamilton County, Iowa, 1946.** Robert A. Rohwer, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Some Case Studies of Social Participation in a New York Village, 1947.** Harold E. Smith, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio. YY(O)N



**Educational and Occupational Climbing in Relation to Church Affiliations.** Marvin J. Taves, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. PN(1949)N

**The Sociology of Rural Life in Guatemala.** Nathan L. Whetten, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut. PN(July 49)N

**Leadership and Social Structure in a New**

**York Rural Community.** James E. White, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y. YP(Aug. 48)N

**Motives of Farmers Affecting Their Adoption of Farm Practices and Response Toward Agricultural Programs.** Eugene A. Wilkening, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina. NN(Apr. 49)N

## VII. INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

**The Functions of Ceremony in the Advertising Business.** E. Jackson Baur, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. YY(O)N

**The Impact of Technological Changes on Four Mining Communities.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**The Influence of G. I. Educational Benefits on the Occupational Structure of the Community.** Jessie Bernard and Harriet Cohen, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**The Post-Graduate Careers of Majors in Four College Curricula: Forestry, Electrical Engineering, Pre-Medical and Commerce and Finance.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**The Impact of Wage Guarantees on Human Relations in Industry.** Fred H. Blum, Howard University, Washington, D.C. PP(O)N

**The Social System of a Garment Plant.** Edgar F. Borgatta, New York University, New York, N.Y. YP(Oct. 48)N

**Development of Supervisors through Visual-Auditory Techniques.** Nathaniel Cantor, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y. YP(Nov. 48)Y

**Willow Run: A Study in Industrialization and Social Change.** L. J. Carr and James E. Stermer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. YP(Nov. 48)N

**Occupational Aspirations and the Traditions of Opportunity.** Ely Chinoy, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario. YP(June 49)N

**Energy and Society.** W. F. Cottrell, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. YP(Nov. 48)N

**Group Make-Up in a Small Industrial Plant.** Walter H. Crockett, Kansas University, Lawrence, Kansas. PN(Oct. 48)N

**White Collar Worker on Wall Street.** Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Occupational Profile: The Professional Librarian.** William H. Form, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(Jan. 49)N

**The Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument.** William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, and University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, respectively. YY(O)N

**The Fields and Organization of Industrial Sociology.** F. Howard Forsyth, Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas. PN(O)N

**The Personality of American Industrialists.** F. Howard Forsyth, Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas. PN(O)N

**The Social Orientation of the Industrial Worker.** Joseph B. Gittler, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YP(Dec. 48)N

**The Labor Force in Louisiana.** Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. YY(O)Y

**Cardiac Rehabilitation in a Sheltered Workshop.** Edward Hochhauser, Committee for the Care of the Jewish Tuberculous, Inc., New York, N.Y. PN(Jan. 50)N

**Industrial Leadership.** Thomas P. Imse, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. PN(O)N

**The Case of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives.** Henrik F. Infield, Rural Settlement Institute, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**The Entrepreneur and the Social Structure.** Leland H. Jenks, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts. PN(O)N

**Unionization of Social Workers.** Marie E. Klein, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Oct. 48)N

**The Cigar Makers' International Union, A Social History.** J. H. Korson, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts. PP(O)N

**The Effectiveness of Discussion in Changing Industrial Relations Policy.** Herbert E. Krugman, Richardson, Bellows, Henry & Co., New York, N.Y. YP(O)P

**An Analysis of the CIO Union Counselling Program in the Chicago Area; with Special Reference to the Out-Plant Problems of the Worker and How They are Handled Through Local Resources.** Seymour R. Levin, 6810 South Ridgeland A Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)N

**Occupations in America.** E. L. Malone, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YY(O)N

**The Changing Nature of Opportunity in American Life.** Kurt B. Mayer, New School for Social Research, Forest Hills, L. I., N.Y. YP(Aug. 48)N

**A Study of Goal Satisfaction among New**

**Haven Workmen Before and After Joining Trade Unions.** John W. McConnell, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. YP(Jan. 49)N

**Social Images in Industrial Relations.** Paul Meadows, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. YN(O)N

**White Collar Thinking: A Survey of the Polls.** Paul Meadows, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. YN(Dec. 48)Y

**The Development of Concepts in Industrial Sociology.** Delbert C. Miller, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YP(Nov. 48)N

**Personnel Policies in Retirement Programs.** E. H. Moore, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. YY(O)N

**From Peasants to Proletarians: Labor Recruitment in Newly Developing Areas.** Wilbert E. Moore, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. PP(Jan. 49)N

**The Transition from Native Economies to Industrialism in Mexico.** Wilbert E. Moore, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Occupational Opportunities for Sociologists.** C. S. Mihanovich, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri. YN (June 48)N

**Alcoholism as an Industrial Problem.** Cyril C. O'Brien, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. YP(June 48)N

**The Social Implications of Industry-wide Col-**

**lective Bargaining.** Otto Pollak, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. YY(O)Y

**The Veteran and His Readjustment Allowance.** Erwin O. Smigel, New York University, New York, N.Y. YP(Sept. 48)N

**A Study of Vertical Occupational Mobility in American Industry.** Christopher Smith, R.F.D. #3, Waterbury, Connecticut. YP(O)N

**Work Interests Study of High School Students.** Christopher Sower and E. Grant Youmans, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(Sept. 48)P

**A Study of Occupational Ambitions of College Males.** Chester M. Stephenson, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. NN(O)N

**The Effect of Collective Bargaining on Wage Rate Structures.** Robert E. Strain, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa. NN(O)N

**Attitudes Toward Economic Security by Workers.** Carl W. Strow, Research Council for Economic Security, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Dec. 48)N

**A Study of the Outlook of the Individual Towards Security in Old Age.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. OO(O)O

**The Bankrupt Southern Industrial Community.** Elizabeth H. Baughan, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina. PP(O)N

## VIII. CRIMINOLOGY AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

**Monographic Study: A Survey of Juvenile Delinquency in Hillsdale County, Michigan for the Years 1935-1945.** Joseph K. Balogh, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York. YP (Fall 48)N

**Indeterminate Sentences from the Cook County Criminal Court During 1945.** Don T. Blackston, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)N

**The Deterrent Effect of Religion on Criminal and Delinquent Behavior.** Donald H. Bouma, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan. YP (Dec. 48)N

**A Study of the Parole and Postparole Behavior of Alabama Offenders.** Morris G. Caldwell, University of Alabama, University, Alabama. YP(O)O

**A Study of the Probation and Postprobation Behavior of Federal Offenders in the State of Alabama.** Morris G. Caldwell, University of Alabama, University, Alabama. YP(Dec. 48)O

**New York Prison Association.** Margaret Callaghan, St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Connecticut. PN(June 49)N

**A Study of Classification of Prisoners: Federal and State.** Arthur L. Canary, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Community and Family after Imprisonment:**

**The Ex-inmate's Attitude.** Marshall B. Clinard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YP(July 48)N

**Juvenile Delinquency and the Social Structure.** Albert K. Cohen, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. NN(O)N

**History and Analysis of the Michigan Juvenile Code.** Gunnar Dybwad, University of Michigan, East Lansing, Michigan. PN(Dec. 48)N

**The Woman Offender.** Mabel A. Elliott, Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Runaway Youth to Detroit During the War.** Ralph C. Fletcher, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. YY(O)Y

**Delinquency and Housing.** Howard Harlan and Jack Werry, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama. YY(O)Y

**Homicide and Suicide in Birmingham, Alabama (1940-44).** Howard Harlan, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama. YN (Sept. 48)N

**Self-Mutilation Among Inmates of the Texas Prison System.** Rupert C. Koeninger, Sam Houston State College, Huntsville, Texas. YP (Sept. 48)N

**Success or Failure of Adult Probationers in the State of Alabama.** Christopher H. Koko-

lakis, University of Alabama, University, Alabama. YP(Aug. 48)Y

**Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control in Maryland.** Peter P. Lejins, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. YP(Summer 48)N

**Adjustment Factors in Probation.** Howard H. Levine, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. YY(O)N

**Delinquency Areas: A Critical Reappraisal.** Howard H. Levine, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. PP(July 48)N

**Survey of Penal and Correctional Institutions in Oklahoma with Recommendations for Reorganization of Their Administration.** Leonard Logan, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. YY(O)Y

**The Structure of a Type of Organized Upper World Crime.** Albert Morris, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts. PN(O)N

**Validation and Control of Parole Predictions.** Lloyd E. Ohlin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Mar. 49)N

**The Efficiency of Prediction in Criminology.** Lloyd E. Ohlin and Otis D. Duncan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)N

**Patterns of Crime in 86 American Cities.** Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas. YY(O)N

**Reform School: A Study in Institutional Sociology.** Frederick E. Robin, Committee for Nation's Health, New York, N.Y. YY(O)N

**A Summary Presentation, Comparison, and Evaluation of Findings of Studies of Behavior Following Institutional and Non-institutional Processing of Law Violators.** Alfred C. Schnur, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. PP(O)N

**Research Problems in Predicting Criminal Recidivism and Other Behavior Following Institutional and Non-institutional Processing of Law Violators.** Alfred C. Schnur, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. PP(O)N

#### IX. EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

**Non-Directive Teaching.** Milton C. Albrecht and Lewellyn Z. Gross, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**Student Evaluation of Required Courses in the Liberal Arts Curriculum.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Evaluation of the First Course in Sociology and the Teaching of it.** Wilbur Brookover, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(O)N

**A Sociology of Education.** Wilbur Brookover, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. PP(O)N

**Education and Social Forces.** Edmund deS. Brunner, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**The College Study in Intergroup Relations.**

University, Oxford, Ohio. PP(O)N

**Crime and Its Treatment in Sweden.** Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. YP(1949)N

**Textbook in Juvenile Delinquency.** Harry M. Shulman, College of the City of New York, New York, N.Y. PP(O)Y

**Adult Offenders, Social Work Year Book 1948-49.** Leon T. Stern, Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs of the Public Charities Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. YP(O)Y

**Probation Officers Salaries and Case Loads.** Leon T. Stern, Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs of the Public Charities Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. YP(O)Y

**Crime and the Chinese in America: A Cultural Analysis.** Robert Straus, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. YP(Aug. 48)N

**White Collar Crime.** Edwin H. Sutherland, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. YY(O)Y

**Multiple Offender Laws and Their Administration in the United States.** Paul W. Tappan, New York University, New York, N.Y. PP(Aug. 48)N

**The Child and Adolescent in the Criminal Court.** Paul W. Tappan, New York University, New York, N.Y. PN(Aug. 48)Y

**The Precise Psychological Cause of Crime.** James F. Walsh, Regis College, Denver, Colorado. PN(O)O

**Characteristics of Boys Repeatedly in Trouble with Detroit Police, 1946 and 1947.** William W. Wattenberg, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. YN(Sept. 48)N

**Influence of Type of Broken Home and Presence of Female Siblings Upon Offenses of Boys in Trouble, Detroit, 1946.** William W. Wattenberg, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. YY(O)Y

Lloyd A. Cook, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. YP(Jan. 49)O

**The Relationship of Academic Performance and Attitudes in Terms of Materials in a General Education Course in Inter-Group Relations Which Deal with Group Ideologies and Discriminatory Practices.** Harold Dahnke and others, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(July 48)O

**Analysis of the Hollywood Western.** Frederick Elkin, Motion Picture Association of America, Hollywood, California. PN(O)N

**The Relationship of Performance on the Allport-Vernon Scale of Values to Certain Selected Social and Experiential Factors.** Leo A. Haak and Eleanor Sim, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(July 48)O

**The Relationship of Ideology with Respect**

to Democratic and Non-Democratic Group Control to Attitudes toward Minority Groups. John Holland and others, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(July 48)O

**The Problem of Reorganizing the Rural Schools of Nebraska.** John P. Johansen, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. PN(Sept. 48)N

**South Carolina People.** Mary C. Joslin, 4910 29th Road, Arlington, Virginia. YP(O)O

**Social Drama Techniques in the Teaching of Sociology.** Arthur Katona, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. PP(Aug. 48)N

**Study of the Social Factors of Moving Pictures on Washington (State) School Children.** T. H. Kennedy, Washington State College, Pullman, Washington. YY(O)N

**Sociology in Cross-Cultural Perspective.** Fenton Keyes, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N.Y. PP(O)N

**The Race Relations Institute: A Cooperative Experiment in Adult Education.** Abraham E. Knepler, University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Connecticut. PP(Sept. 48)N

**Occupations and Opinions of Sociology Majors.** John B. Knox, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Adjustment of Two-Year-Olds Entering Nursery School.** Ruth P. Koshuk, Office of Bellflower Public Schools, Bellflower, California. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Course and Course Content of the Undergraduate Curriculum.** Mary Ligouri, B.V.M. (Sister), Mundelein College, Chicago, Illinois. PP(Aug. 48)Y

**A Survey of Sociology Offered in the Curricula of High Schools of North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges.** Vladimir de Lissovoy, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. YY(O)N

**A Psycho-Sociological Basis for a Unit, "Understanding Behavior," to be Used in the Seventh Grade.** John H. Mabry, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. PP(Dec. 48)N

**A Study of Leadership in Education.** Richard T. Morris, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. NN(Summer 49)O

**Equality of Higher Educational Opportunity: A Follow-Up Study of Weber College Graduates, 1947.** Walter C. Neville, Weber College, Ogden, Utah. YP(July 48)O

**Measurement of Changes in Ideology and Minority Group Attitudes Related to the Ma-**

**terials and Methods of a General Education Course in Inter-Group Relations.** Harold B. Pepinsky and others, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(July 48)O

**The Relationship of Attitudes Toward Minority Group Members to Certain Selected Social and Experiential Factors.** Lois V. Pratt and others, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(July 48)O

**Student Reaction Survey: A Study of Student Attitudes Toward Teaching at the College Level.** John W. Riley, Jr. and Bryce Ryan, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. YP(Summer 48)N

**Societies Around the World.** Irwin T. Sanders and others, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. YY(O)Y

**A Base Line Appraisal of Community Problems and of the Community School Service Program in Five Michigan Communities, 1947.** Edgar A. Schuler, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP(O)N

**Recruitment, Selection and Training of Social Scientists.** Elbridge Sibley, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. YY(O)Y

**Comparison of the Educational Attainments of the Rural and Urban Populations of the West South Central Division of the United States.** Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. OO(O)O

**The Employment of the Personal Document as an Aid to Teaching.** Forrest L. Weller, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Techniques of Using Research in Teaching Sociology.** Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. YP(O)N

**Inter- and Intra-Gang Competition, Conflict and Cooperation Among 1500 High School Youths (in Three Representative Communities in Michigan and Georgia) and the Bearing Upon Inter-Cultural Education.** Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. YY(O)N

**Who Gets in to College and Who Does Not.** Julian L. Woodward, Elmo Roper, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**The Effects of Military Service Upon the Educational Adjustment of Veterans as Compared with that of the Non-Veteran Student.** (Tentative title.) Kenneth W. Yeager, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. YP(Summer 48)O

## X. METHODS OF RESEARCH (INCLUDING SOCIOMETRY)

**A Standard Method for Continuous Content Analysis of Social Interaction in Small Groups.** Robert F. Bales, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. PP(Sept. 48)Y

**A Sociometric Study of a Small City.** Raymond E. Bassett, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YN(Oct. 48)N

**Sociometric Sampling: An Ex Post Facto Study.** Raymond E. Bassett, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YP(O)Y

**Cooperative Research in the Social Sciences.** Gordon W. Blackwell and C. Arnold Anderson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. PP(Sept. 48)N



**The Use of Non-Narrative Techniques in Social Research.** Clyde P. Chiappella, University of California, Berkeley, California. PP(Sept. 48)N

**A Sociometric Approach to Social Conflict.** Fred Chusid and Ruth Chusid, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YP (June 48)N

**Statistics of Hierarchies.** Stuart C. Dodd, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YY(O)N

**A Comparison of the Predictive Items and Behavior Patterns of Married and Divorced Individuals when Controlled for Certain Variables and when Not so Controlled.** John A. Duff and William E. Hartman, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. YN(Sept. 48)N

**Survey of Anthropological Research in the Union of South Africa.** Loren C. Eiseley, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. PN(1949)N

**The Nature and the Methods of Current Psychological Research.** Albert Ellis, New Jersey State Hospital, Greystone Park, New Jersey. PP(O)N

**A Study of the Length of Time Cases Remain with a Family Case Work Agency.** Ralph C. Fletcher, University of Michigan, East Lansing, Michigan. YN(Sept. 48)N

**A Sociological Methodology for Prison Research.** George Genn, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. PP(Dec. 48)N

**Analysis of Occupational Mobility.** Herbert Goldhamer, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PP(Sept. 48)N

**Techniques for the Analysis of "Social Distance."** Herbert Goldhamer, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Oct. 46)N

**Introduction to Theory of Sociological Methods.** Feliks Gross, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. YP(Dec. 48)O

**Occupations and Prestige.** Paul K. Hatt and Cecil C. North, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. YP(Oct. 48)N

**The Application of Anthropological Techniques to the Study of Group Therapy.** Jules Henry, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. YN(O)N

**Action Patterns of Ant Societies.** Frederick W. Henssler, R.D., Ringoes, New Jersey. YP (O)N

**The Biographical Group Interview. A Technique of Group Investigation.** Henrik F. Infield, R.D. #1, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. YP(Dec. 48)N

**An Area Sample Survey of Population, Employment, and Housing Conditions of White and**

**Non-White Families in Seattle, Washington.** Julius A. Jahn, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YP(Oct. 48)N

**Techniques of Sampling Value Statements in the Mass Media: An Exploration in the Discovery of Social Values.** Manford H. Kuhn, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. PN (Oct. 48)N

**Examination of Delineative Techniques in Regional Studies.** Irving F. Lukoff, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YP (Sept. 48)N

**Friendship Patterns of College Students at the State University of Iowa.** Henry Miller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. YN (Dec. 48)N

**Measurement of Aesthetic Folkways: A Study in the History of Musical Taste.** John H. Mueller, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. YP(O)N

**A Study of Social Values.** Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**An Attempt to Epitomize Chinese Social Philosophy—A Critique of Edward Becker's Historical and Typological Interpretation Based on Creel, Granet, and others.** Maurice T. Price, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. YY(O)N

**Group Diagnostic Scale.** Elizabeth J. Roberts, and Phyllis J. Esser, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y. PO(O)N

**Field Techniques in Social Psychological Research in a Rural Community.** William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YP(July 48)N

**Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology.** Eshref Shevsky and Marilyn Williams, Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, California. YY(O)Y

**Gathering Objective Data on U.S. Churches.** Frederick A. Shippey, 2039 Maple Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. YP(July 48)N

**Two Methods of Measuring the Territorial Structuring of Social Relationships.** Luke M. Smith, Instructor in Political Science, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. YY(O)N

**A Sociometric Study of Dormitory Friendships.** Orden C. Smucker, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. PN(O)N

**Scale and Intensity Analysis in Attitude—Opinion Research.** Edward A. Suchman, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. YY(O)N

**A Methodological Approach for Testing Generalizations Through Original Research.** Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. YY(O)N

## XI. POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

**The Russian Bolshevik Movement.** J. Howell Atwood, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. YP (O)N

**The Relation of Certain Social Factors to Election Returns in New Hampshire.** Joseph E. Bachelder, State College of Washington, Pull-

man, Washington. YP(Dec. 48)N

**Law and Group Discrimination in the U. S.** Morroe Berger, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. PP(Jan. 49)N

**A Symbolic System for Recording the Process of Rational Conflict.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**An Analysis of Political Conflict Based on Congressional Behavior as Recorded in the Congressional Record and Other Documents.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Political Behavior in Panama.** John Biesanz, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. YY(O)N

**Racial Discrimination in Federal Employment: A Study of Bureaucracy.** William C. Bradbury, Jr., University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YP(Sept. 48)N

**The Idea of Europe.** Joseph H. Bunzel, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Social Security Programs in France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.** Charles G. Chakerian, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut. PP(Dec. 48)N

**Differential Factors in the Legislative Process.** Fred Chusid and Ruth Chusid, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. YP(June 48)N

**The Struggle for Power in the United States.** Oliver C. Cox, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. PO(Dec. 49)N

**The Folklore of Housing.** N. J. Demerath, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. PN(1950)O

**A Social-Psychological Analysis of Wallaceism.** Hugo O. Engelmann, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YY(O)N

**Relationship of Private Organizations to the U.S. Government's Information and Cultural Relations Program Abroad.** Byron L. Fox, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. PY(O)N

**The Sociology of International Relations.** Byron L. Fox, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. PP(Dec. 49)N

**European Political Ideologies: Sociology of European Social Movements.** Feliks Gross, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**American-Slavs.** Feliks Gross, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**Studies in Political Sociology.** Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. PP(O)N

**Ideology in a TVA Community.** Walter Hirsch, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana. PP(O)N

**A Study in Protestant Church State Relationships in the U.S. During World War II.** Luther T. Jansen, Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Social Status and the Administration of Justice.** Edwin M. Lemert, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. PN(O)N

**Social Legislation in China.** Irving Lin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PP(Spring 49)N

**Pre-War Political Behavior in Germany.** Charles P. Loomis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YY(1949)Y

**Sociology of German Anti-Semitism.** Paul W. Manning, Institute of Social Research, New York, N.Y. YP(July 48)N

**An Appraisal of the Prisoner of War Program in the United States from 1942-1946.** E. G. McCurtain, Drury College, Springfield, Missouri. YN(O)N

**An Analysis of the Power Structure of Organized Agriculture in Michigan.** James B. McKee, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YY(O)N

**Theory of Intermediate Society: A Study of Social Organization and Political Sovereignty.** Robert A. Nisbet, University of California, Berkeley, California. YP(Dec. 48)N

**The Problem of Political Democracy in Modern China from the standpoints of political, historical, and cultural sociology.** Maurice T. Price, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. PP(Oct. 48)N

**Origins and Experience of United States Senators.** Edward Rose, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. YP(O)N

**Predicting Capacity for Self-Government.** Lyle W. Shannon, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. PN(1949)N

**A Study of Modern Political Radicalism.** Francis X. Sutton, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. PP(O)N

**Military Government Policies and Reactions to Them as Elements in the International Conflict Process.** Donald R. Taft, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. YY(O)N

**American Regional Sociology.** Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. PN(1949)N

**Urban Orbits in Altoona, Pennsylvania.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. PP(O)Y

**Urban Orbits in Altoona, Pennsylvania.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. PP(O)Y

## XII. URBAN SOCIOLOGY AND ECOLOGY

**Cost of a Slum Area.** John C. Alston, State College, Wilberforce, Ohio. YY(O)Y

**Studies in Urbanization and Acculturation.** Ralph L. Beals and others, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. PP(O)Y

**Urban Orbits in Altoona, Pennsylvania.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. PP(O)Y

**Urban Orbits in Altoona, Pennsylvania.** Jessie Bernard and others, Pennsylvania State College, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. PP(O)Y

State College, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Problems of Assimilation of Rural Migrants in the City.** Samuel W. Blizzard, Jr., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. PN(O)N

**Methods Applicable to Analysis of the Day-time Population of Central Business Districts, with Particular Reference to the Factor of Transportation.** Gerald W. Breese, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. PN (Sept. 49)N

**A Plan for the Emergency Evacuation of Urban Areas.** Gerald W. Reese, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. PN (June 49)N

**Three Youth Agencies in Brooklyn.** Wener S. Cahnman, Viking Fund, 212 East 13th Street, New York, N.Y. PN (Aug. 48)N

**Personality Schools: A Sociological Analysis.** Robert O. Carlson, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YP (Dec. 48)N

**Social Aspects of Daily Movement in Urban Areas.** Henry Cohen, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. PN(O)N

**Optimum Size of Cities.** Otis D. Duncan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PP (Dec. 48)N

**The French Canadian Urban Parish as a Community Within the City.** Jean-C. Falardeau, Laval University, Quebec, Canada. PN (Mar. 49)N

**The Factors in Occupational Selection among Detroit Jews.** S. Joseph Fauman, Jewish Community Council of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan. YY(O)N

**North Carolina Trade Centers, 1910-1940: The Changing Pattern of Economic Services.** Abbott L. Ferriss, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. YN (Jan. 49)N

**The Distribution of Occupations as a Basic City Yardstick.** Paul B. Gillen, 22 East Division Street, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)P

**Movement of Urban Population into Open-Country Districts.** Noel P. Gist, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri. NO (Dec. 48)N

**Social and Cultural Change in Merida, Yucatan.** Asael T. Hansen, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. YP (Sept. 48)N

**Noise as a Factor in Privacy in an Isolated Married Student Community.** Elmer H. Johnson, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. YY(O)P

**Social Stratification in Southern Cities.** Harold F. Kaufman, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. PN (Spring 49)N

**An Ecological Analysis of the Central Busi-**

**ness District of Seattle.** Betty E. Kent, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. PP (Aug. 48)N

**Report of the Chicago Area Project.** Solomon Kobrin, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois. PN (Feb. 49)N

**A Text on Urban Sociology.** Rose H. Lee, Roosevelt College of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN(O)N

**Housing and Social Disorganization.** William C. Loring, Jr., Housing Association of Metropolitan Boston, Boston, Massachusetts. PN (July 49)N

**The City and Racial Adjustment in the Southern Urban Community.** J. Masouka, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. YP (Nov. 48)N

**Census Tracts for Miami, Florida and Adjacent Areas.** J. Paul Reed, University of Miami, Miami, Florida. OO(O)O

**The Jewish Community of Montreal.** Louis Rosenberg, Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. PP (Dec. 48)Y

**Ecological Patterning of the American City: A Study in Urban Typology.** Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YP (Dec. 48)N

**State-Wide System of Statistical Areas and Census Tracts for the State of Washington.** Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. PN (Nov. 48)N

**A Study of Suicide in San Francisco, 1935-1945.** Barbara Semelman, Stanford University, Stanford University, California. YP (June 48)N

**Social Areas of Los Angeles: Some Uses of an Urban Typology.** Eshref Shevky, Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, California. PN (May 49)N

**The Existence of Primate Cities as a Test of State Sovereignty in the United States.** Luke M. Smith, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. PN (May 48)N

**The United Nations and Changing Land Use in a Metropolis.** Rosalind Tough, Hunter College, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**A Decade of Planning in New York City, 1938-1948.** Rosalind Tough and Ruth C. Weintraub, Hunter College, New York, N.Y. PN (Dec. 49)N

**Urban Redevelopment Without a Master Plan.** Rosalind Tough and Ruth G. Weintraub, Hunter College, New York, N.Y. YY(O)N

**Cultural Hybridism Restudied After 23 Years.** Pauline V. Young, 3551 University Avenue, Los Angeles, California. YY (49)Y

### XIII. PUBLIC OPINION

**Educational Attainment and Public Opinion.** Joseph E. Bachelder, State College of Wash-

ington, Pullman, Washington. PP (Oct. 48)N  
**Analysis of Opinion Formation in Adolescents**

**Over a Period of About Five Years.** Bernard Berelson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. NN(O)N

**Analysis of Opinion Formation During a Presidential Campaign.** Bernard Berelson and others, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. NN(O)N

**Analysis of the Extent and Significance of Differences in the News and Editorial Policies of Competing Newspapers** Stanley K. Bigman, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. PN(Sept. 49)N

**An Analysis of the Food Conservation Publicity Campaign of 1947.** Irving Crespi, Hofstra College, Rockaway Beach, N.Y. YY(O)N

**Measuring Human Tensions.** Stuart C. Dodd, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. YY(O)N

**Social Implications of Opinion Research.** Walter H. Eaton, Research Associates of Chicago, 841 East 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Jan. 49)N

**The Development of the American Red Cross as a Social Institution.** Mabel A. Elliott, Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. YP(Nov. 48)N

**A Survey of Research on Voting Behavior.** Jacob Goldstein, Conference on Jewish Relations, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. PP(O)N

**Social Class and the American Novel, 1918-1945.** Milton M. Gordon, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. PP(O)N

**The Relation of Social Stratification to Public Opinion and Attitudes in an Iowa Rural Community.** Neal Gross, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. PN(June 49)N

**Characteristics of the All-Negro Motion Picture.** John S. Holley, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. PP(June 48)N

**The Moral World of the Anti-Vivisectionist.** Helen M. Hughes, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PO(O)N

**Survey of the Motion Picture as an Instrument of American Education on International Affairs.** Ruth A. Inglis, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. PP(O)P

**Mobilizing Public Opinion in the Soviet Union.** Alex Inkeles, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. YY(O)N

**Radio-broadcasting in the Soviet Union.** Alex Inkeles, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. YY(O)Y

**The Role of the Negro Press in the Formation of Public Opinion.** Clifton R. Jones, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland. YP(Aug. 48)N

**Book Clubs and Best Sellers: The Problem of Evaluation.** Joseph W. Kappel, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**What Makes a Best Seller?** Joseph W. Kappel, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. NN(O)N

**The Role of Resistance in Attitude Change.** Herbert E. Krugman, Richardson, Bellows, Henry & Co. 224 East 33rd Street, New York, N.Y. NP(Apr. 49)N

**The Contribution of Dialectic Techniques to Democratic Social Interaction.** Bruna Lasker, 64 Shelley Avenue, Yonkers, N.Y. PP(Spring 49)N

**Self-Regulation in the Comics.** Hope E. Lunin, New York University, New York, N.Y. PN(Dec. 48)N

**Student Opinion as Revealed by Responses to Dichotomous Questions on Social Issues.** Joel B. Montague, Jr., State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. YN(Sept. 48)N

**A Study of Factors Affecting Catholic Opinion on Selected Issues.** C. J. Nuesse and others, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. PN(1949)N

**Social Impact of Television.** John W. Riley, Jr., Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. NN(O)N

**Content Analysis of Cartoon Strips in Determining Effect on a Given Public.** Lyle W. Shannon, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. PN(Fall 48)N

**Social Attitudes of Mothers and Children in a Tension Area.** Harry M. Shulman and Gerhardt Saenger, City College of New York, New York, N.Y. YN(O)O

**One-Newspaper City: A Sociological Study of Consensus and of Differences among Social Groups in Opinions about the Functions of a "Monopoly of Local News."** Charles E. Swanson, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. YP(July 49)N

**Experimental Studies in Controlled Factors which Determine Readership, Readability, and Comprehension Among Mass Audiences of Material in Daily Newspapers.** Charles E. Swanson, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. PN(Sept. 48)N

**The Role of Group Affiliation in the 1948 Presidential Political Campaign.** Edward A. Suchman, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. NN(May 49)N

**A Sociological Study of Attitudes of High School Youths.** Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. OO(O)O

#### XIV. SOCIAL PROBLEMS

**Housing Environment: Needed Research Projects.** Gerald W. Breese, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. YP(July 48)Y

**Discrimination in Higher Education.** Glen E. Carlson, University of Redlands, Redlands, California. YY(O)Y



**The Roadhouse: A Study in Social Disorganization and Reorganization.** Marshall B. Cline, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. PN(Nov. 48)N

**Housing Needs and Housing Standards.** N. J. Demerath, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. NN(1950)N

**A Controlled Analysis of the Factors that Contribute to the Establishment of the Behavior Pattern of Running Away in Delinquent Girls.** Mary H. Diggs, Hunter College, New York, N.Y. YY(Sept. 48)N

**Hessian Opinion Concerning the Black Market.** Morton F. Fosberg, Office of Military Government for Hesse, APO 633, c/o Postmaster, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**Social Adjustment to Technological Advance.** Felix Gross, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. PN(O)N

**Social Disorganization and Culture Conflict in Rural Ethnic Groups.** F. Eugene Heilman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. NN(O)N

**Community Attitudes and Their Involvements in Social Problems.** A. P. Herman, University of Redlands, Redlands, California. YY(O)Y

**Society and Cooperation. An Introduction to the Sociology of Cooperation.** Henrik F. Infield, Rural Settlement Institute, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. YN(Spring 49)N

**The J.W.B. Survey.** Oscar I. Janowsky and Werner J. Cahnman, Viking Fund, Inc., 212 East 13th Street, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**The Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan American Union.** Robert C. Jones, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C. YP (Dec. 48)P

**Inter-American Cooperation in the Social Field.** Robert C. Jones, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C. PP(Dec. 48)Y

**Development of Profession of Social Work in Latin America.** Robert C. Jones, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C. PP(O)Y

**Social Problems in America: A Sourcebook.** Elizabeth B. Lee, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. YY(O)Y

**The Concept of a Natural History of Social Problems.** Edwin M. Lemert, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. PN(O)N

**An Investigation of the Strategy of Control**

**of Inter-Ethnic and Inter-Racial Discrimination.** R. M. MacIver, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**The New Jersey "Ideal" Sterilization Bill.** C. S. Mironovich, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri. YY(O)O

**American Sociologists and Immigration Policy.** Henry Miller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. PP(Nov. 48)N

**A Study of Social Participation.** Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. YN(O)N

**Social Aspects of Alcoholism.** John W. Riley, Jr. and Charles F. Marden, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. PP(Fall 48)P

**Kentucky's Capacity to Absorb Displaced Persons.** Irwin T. Sanders and Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. YY(O)N

**Social Adjustment Problems of the Aged.** Philip M. Smith, Central Michigan College of Education, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan. PP(Mar. 49)N

**One Thousand Unsuccessful Careers.** A. Warren Stearns, Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts. YY(O)N

**Social Factors in Social Security.** Carl W. Strow, Research Council for Economic Security, 7429 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. PP(Sept. 48)N

**The Concept of "Pauperization" in Social Welfare Literature.** Theodore C. Weiler, University of Maine, Orono, Maine. PN(O)N

**The Perpetual Chain Around the Neck of the Jew—His Own Self.** Max Weiner, 706 Saratoga Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. YY(O)N

**A Psycho-Social Analysis of Educational and Economic Problems of High School Youths and Their Bearing Upon Vocational Education and Counseling.** Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida. YP(O)N

**Differential Conceptions of the Role of the Aged.** Everett K. Wilson, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Pilot Study of the Impact of Segregation in Public Schools.** Max Wolff, 212 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y. YN(Aug. 48)N

**Social Problems and Adjustment.** Verne Wright, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. YP(O)N

#### XV. SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

**The Role of the Downtown Church.** William B. Ackerman, Albion College, Albion, Michigan. PN(O)N

**Religion in a Changing Society.** Karl Appelbaum, Avenue M. Jewish Center, 1898 Bay Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. PP(O)N

**The Irish Catholic: An Application of the Concept of "Social Median."** Milton L. Barron,

Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Roman Catholicism Among Panamanians.** John Biesanz, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. YP(O)N

**Content of Rural Preaching.** Lawrence D. Boyer, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. YY(O)N

**Sociology of Religion.** Lawrence D. Boyer, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. YY(O)N

**A Study of "Constructed Types" in Sociology of Religion.** Louis Bultena, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa. YP(Sept. 48)N

**Sociology of the Churches of Madison, Wisconsin.** Louis Bultena, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa. YY(O)Y

**Social Work under Religious Auspices in Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland.** Charles G. Chakerian, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut. PP(Nov. 48)N

**Behavior Pattern of an Indigenous American Religious Body: The Church of God.** Val Clear, Anderson College, Anderson, Indiana. PN(Summer 49)N

**The Role of Protestantism in the Development of Capitalism.** Irving Crespi, Hofstra College, Rockaway Beach, N.Y. YY(O)N

**An Article: Social Thinking in the Sefer Hasidim.** Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. YP(O)Y

**The Negro Church in Chicago.** V. E. Daniel, State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama. YY(O)N

**Attitude Toward the Church in Relation to Reported Church Attendance of 234 Recently Enrolled Students in an Urban University.** Allan W. Eister, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. YY(O)O

**Sociological Analysis of the Oxford Group Movement.** Allan W. Eister, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. YY(O)Y

**Attachment to a Sect: Mobility and Other Influences.** George K. Floro, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Church Influence in Hesse.** Morton F. Fossberg, Office of Military Government for Hesse, APO 633, c/o Postmaster, New York, N.Y. YY(O)Y

**Interplay between some Religious Convictions and Human Relations in the Orient.** Pryns Hopkins, 1900 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California. PP(O)O

**The Rural Church in Kentucky.** Harold F. Kaufman, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. YY(O)Y

**The Religious Sect in Calgary, Alberta.** William E. Mann, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. YN(Jan. 49)N

**Institutional Behavior of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church—An American Protestant Religious Denomination.** Haskell M. Miller, Emory and Henry College, Emory, Virginia. YY(O)N

**Sources of Growth and Leakage in a Rural Parish.** C. J. Nuesse, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. YN(Dec. 48)N

**Impact of Urbanization of the Church in the South.** Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas. PP(O)O

**A Descriptive Analysis of A Local Reform Jewish Temple.** Milton Richman, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. PN(Feb. 49)O

**Occupational Structure of Methodism in Seventeen U.S. Cities.** Frederick A. Shippey, Board of Missions & Church Extension, The Methodist Church, 2039 Maple Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. YP(July 48)N

**The Group Concept in Religious Thought.** William C. Smith, Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon. PN(Dec. 49)N

**Christian Science and Ascetic Protestantism: A Study in the Sociology of Religion, Personality Type and Social Structure.** Isidor Thorner, 5430 Carlin Street, Los Angeles, California. YP(O)N

**Church Membership, Church and Sunday School Attendance in Ten Iowa Counties and Selected Factors Related to Them.** Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. YP(July 48)N

## XVI. RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

**West Indians in the Canal Zone and Panama.** John Biesanz, Tulane University New Orleans, Louisiana. PY(O)N

**Balance Sheet: The Socio-Economic Adjustment of Japanese Americans to Evacuation, Relocation and Resettlement.** Leonard Bloom and Ruth Riemer, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. YY(O)O

**Name Changing in Los Angeles County.** Leonard Bloom and Virginia Harris, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California. YP(Sept. 48)N

**The Negro in the United States.** Maurice R. Davie, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. YP(O)N

**The Negro in the Rio Del Plata.** Irene Diggs, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland.

YP(O)N

**Relation of Religion to Race Prejudice.** Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. PP(Fall 48)N

**Democracy and Group Relations.** Milton M. Gordon, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. YY(O)N

**Cultural Resemblances between the Japanese and the Oceanic Peoples, with Special Reference to Polynesia.** Douglas G. Haring, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. PP(O)N

**Reactions of the Residents of Boulder, Colorado, to the Introduction of Japanese into the Community.** Donald P. Irish, Western Washington College of Education, Bellingham, Washington. YP(Aug. 48)Y

**A Post-War Aspect of Race Relations in**

**Great Britain.** Thomas H. Jenkins, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN(Nov. 48)Y

**The Norwegians in Bay Ridge: A Sociological Study of An Ethnic Group.** Christen T. Jonassen, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. YY(O)Y

**The Tops and Bottoms: A Study of Negro Boys' Gangs in West Philadelphia.** John J. Kane, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. YY(O)Y

**The Social Structure of the Negro Church.** Peter J. Kenney, S.S.J., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. PN(O)N

**Economic Status of the Jew.** William M. Kephart, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. PP(Sept. 48)N

**The Strategy of Negro Organizations in America—1929 to Present.** Charles R. Lawrence,

Jr., Columbia University, New York, N.Y. PN(Sept. 48)N

**Race Relations in the United States.** Edward C. McDonogh and E. S. Richards, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. PP(Jan. 49)N

**Anti-Semitism among Negroes: A Study of Inter-Minority Hostility.** Harold Mendelsohn, American Jewish Committee, 425 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. YN(Dec. 48)N

**The Morale of a Minority Group.** Arnold M. Rose, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. YY(O)N

**Trends in Intergroup Relations.** Arnold M. Rose, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. YP(June 48)N

**The American Mestizo in the Philippines.** Margaret M. Wood, Russell Sage College, Troy, New York. YY(O)N

## XVII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL PROBLEMS

**Social Medicine.** Odin W. Anderson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, YN(Dec. 48)N

**The Professional Nurse of the Future.** Esther L. Brown, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N.Y. YP(O)Y

**Studies of Patients Discharged from Tuberculosis Sanatoria.** Ralph C. Fletcher, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. YP(Aug. 48)Y

**Families and Their Medical Troubles.** Oswald Hall, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. PN(O)N

**Health and Health Facilities in Michigan.** Charles R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. NN(Dec. 48)N

**Consumer-Managed Voluntary Prepayment Health Service Plans.** L. S. Kleinschmidt, American Medical Association, Chicago, Illinois. PP(O)N

**Chronic and Convalescent Cases in Oklahoma**

**and Provisions for Their Care.** Leonard Logan, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. YP(Fall 48)O

**Rehabilitation Board in A Veterans Administration Hospital.** J. L. Rudd and others, West Roxbury Veterans Administration Hospital, West Roxbury, Massachusetts. YP(June 48)N

**The Dynamics of Parental Families of Schizophrenic Patients.** James E. McKeown, St. Francis Xavier College for Women, Chicago, Illinois. YN(July 48)N

**The Evolution of Public Medical Services for American Merchant Seamen.** Robert Straus, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. YY(O)Y

**Nursing: The Functional Significance of an Institutional Pattern.** Isidor Thorner, 5430 Carlin Street, Los Angeles, California. YY(O)N

**The Professional Status of Women Physicians.** Josephine J. Williams, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YN(Oct. 48)N

## XVIII. CULTURAL SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

**The Easter Festival: A Study in Cultural Adjustment.** James H. Barnett, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut. YY(O)N

**European Social and Cultural Patterns.** Egon E. Bergel, Springfield College, Springfield, Massachusetts. YP(June 49)N

**Comparative Sociology of Occidental and Oriental Institutions.** Helmut G. Callis, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. PP(Dec. 49)O

**The Impact of World War II on the Culture of the Temne People of West Africa.** Carmen C. Decker, Taylor University, Upland, Indiana. PN(O)N

**Modern Culture of Latin America.** John Gillin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill,

North Carolina. OO(O)O

**Ethnological Field Study of the Social Anthropology of the Modern South.** John Gillin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. PP(1950)N

**New Patterns in Old Mexico: Differential Changes in the Social Institutions of Village, Town, and Metropolis.** Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. PN(Dec. 50)N

**The Peoples and Cultures of Indonesia.** Raymond Kennedy, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. PP(1949)N

**Motivation of Certain Primitive Practices.** Paul A. Toll, East Carolina Teachers College, Greenville, North Carolina. PP(Jan. 49)N

## XIX. STANDARDS AND LEVELS OF LIVING

**Analysis of Trends in Selected Items of the Rural Levels and Standards of Living, United States, Major Geographic Divisions, and States.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Analysis of Differences between Rural and Urban Levels and Standards of Living, United States, Major Geographical Regions.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Construction and Analysis of Farm Operator Family Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1930.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Collection and Analysis of Data on Farm Housing, Including the Analysis of Interrela-**

**tionships between Quality of Housing and Farm Income.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**Measurement of Reading Patterns and Library Usage in Maryland, 1948.** Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Washington, D.C. OO(O)O

**A Review of the Economic and Cultural Conditions in the Negro Population of Charleston, West Virginia: April-May, 1948.** The National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N.Y. OO(O)O

**A Survey of the Economic and Cultural Conditions of the Negro Population of Warren, Ohio, and a Review of the Program and Activities of the Warren Urban League: April, 1948.** The National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N.Y. OO(O)O

## XX. SOCIAL CHANGE

**Social Change in the Southern Appalachian Mountains.** Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts. YY(O)N

**Social Aspects of Technology.** W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. PN

(49-50)N

**The Acculturation of the Roumanian Group in Detroit.** Rev. Peter Trutza, 5417 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. YN(O)N

## XXI. MISCELLANEOUS

**Occupations of Students Who Major in Sociology.** Chester Alexander, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri. YY(O)N

**Consumption of Alcohol Beverages as a Custom in the United States.** Selden D. Bacon, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, PN (1950)N

**The Analysis of Communication Content.** Bernard Berelson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)N

**The Impact and Diffusion of Jazz: The Role of a Folk Art in an Urban Society.** Morroe Berger, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. YP(June 49)N

**People of Panama.** John Biesanz, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. PP(Nov. 48)N

**Sociology of Latin America.** (Tentative title.) Ethelyn Davis, Texas State College for Women, Denton, Texas. PN(O)N

**Dimensional Analysis of Language to Universalize It.** Stuart C. Dodd, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, YP(O)N

**Study of the Social Situation.** Seba Eldridge, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. OO

(O)O

**Research and Statistics in Social Work.** Ralph C. Fletcher, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. YP(June 48)Y

**Anti-Industrial Movements in Modern Art.** Paul Meadows, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. YN(O)N

**Some Predictive Factors in the Productivity of Social Scientists.** Bernard N. Meltzer, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. YY(O)N

**Ministers in Retirement; Community Organization for Retirees; Homes, Hostels and other Institutions for the Aged; Professors in Retirement.** Elen H. Moore, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. YY(O)Y

**A Study of Contemporary American Culture.** John Sirjamaki, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. PN(O)N

**Administration and Procedure in Conference or Group Discussion Situations.** Hobart N. Young, Hoover Institute & Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, 660 Salvatierra Street, Stanford, California. YY(O)N



## CURRENT ITEMS



### COMMUNICATION AND OPINION

#### TECHNOLOGICAL ACCELERATION AND CULTURAL LAG ARE CRUCIAL

In April, 1948, Arthur G. Lindsay published, in this *Review*, "Some comments on Social Trends," in which he took issue with a number of points in my article of June 1946 on "Technological Acceleration and the Atomic Bomb." In rejoinder, I wish to (1) state some fundamental agreements which I believe exist between his position and mine; (2) clarify some of the basic issues; and (3) point out certain data which seem to me to refute some of his major points and to support mine.

Our first major agreement is that "adjustive problems are forcing attention to the problems of absorbing past developments"; that "organizational skill . . . (is not yet) far enough advanced to meet the demand for an integrated world"; and that it would be highly "profitable to develop postulates directed to insight into immediate problems of adjustment upon which the issue of acceleration and deceleration both depend."

A second basic agreement is that deceleration is an important social phenomenon, as well as acceleration. The logistic curve accelerates up to its mid-point of inflection, and then decelerates as it approaches its upper limit. It is significant that the type of trend line which has been most frequently fitted to sociological time series, is the logistic curve.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, evidence points toward three types of social trends which are not merely decelerating but actually declining. One such type includes trends which result from obsolescence, as in the logistic downward trends of sailing-ship tonnages after 1860, of horses and mules on American farms in recent decades, and the like. The second kind of declining trend consists in indexes which have been going down, usually logistically, as the result of deliberate preventive effort, as in

the case of accidental deaths on railroads and in air travel, death rates from diphtheria and other contagious diseases, lynching rates, and the like.

The third type of decline fits in closely with a major point insisted on by Dr. Lindsay—namely, downward trends representing breakdowns in industrial organizational activity as a result of wars and depressions. For example, Kuznets has shown that the tonnage of shipping cleared through ports of the United Kingdom conformed closely to a logistic trend from 1815 to 1913.<sup>2</sup> During these 99 years, the largest departure from the trend (in percentages) was less than 2.6 standard errors. But, from 1915 to 1921, shipping clearances dropped, remaining from 3 to 7 standard errors below, and never since then has the index gotten back to its old trend. Similarly, British coal output conformed to a logistic trend from 1854 to 1914 and then, though it had reached only two-thirds of the maximum indicated by its formula, the series started a downward trend which it has maintained ever since. Pig-iron production, and raw cotton imports, dropped even more violently below the logistic trends which they had maintained from the 1780's to 1913. For more than a century, the economic life of Great Britain had been growing regularly in accordance with logistic trends, but World War I threw the British economy into convulsions, from which it has never recovered.

For the United States, similarly, foreign-trade shipping clearances followed a logistic trend from 1860 to 1930, with maximum deviations of less than 2.4 standard errors in any year. But in 1933, such clearances fell 4.8 standard errors below the former trend. In 1942 they were over 8.0 standard errors below. By 1945 they were still 2.8 below the pre-depression trend.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kuznets, Simon S., *Secular Movements in Production and Prices* (New York, 1930), pp. 426-428. Other trends cited in this paragraph are from this same volume, with supplementary data from standard sources.

<sup>2</sup> Data are from the *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.*, 1946, p. 546.

<sup>3</sup> For Bibliography see "Logistic Social Trends" by Hornell Hart, *The American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 337-352.

Recognizing the foregoing agreements, certain major issues need to be stated, and pertinent evidence pointed out. With respect to Dr. Lindsay's discussion of speed, three issues are significant. First, the fact that speed records of race horses, locomotives, non-streamlined automobiles, and non-jet propelled air planes, have all conformed to logistic curves, with characteristic decelerations after their points of inflections, is not inconsistent with the fact that the over-all speed records for horizontal human travel have conformed to a continuously accelerating, rather than to a logistic trend. This can be seen better, perhaps in the chart on "Increasing Speed and Its Social Effects" in Ogburn and Nimkoff's textbook.<sup>4</sup> If Dr. Lindsay believes that the true trend of speed records is logistic, the scientific procedure would seem to be for him to state the formula for such a trend line, and to show statistically the superior fit of his preferred hypothesis.

A second issue about speeds is whether the trend of maximum records has any social significance. Dr. Lindsay objects that the "commercially feasible speeds for planes does not average 300 miles an hour." It might be noted that the commercially feasible speeds of locomotives, before the invention of the airplane or the automobile, probably did not exceed 50 or 60 miles an hour, even as late as fifty years ago, and the commercially feasible speed of travel by horseback probably did not exceed 20 miles an hour before the invention of the locomotive. Before horses were domesticated, four thousand years or so ago, the maximum commercially feasible speed probably did not exceed five or six miles an hour. The trend of commercially feasible speeds would thus seem to conform fairly closely to the same type of swiftly accelerating curve.

Third, for Dr. Lindsay to argue that increases in speed are unimportant, would seem to ignore (among other things) the bearings of aerial speeds upon the possibility of detecting and intercepting bombing attacks.

With regard to the accelerating divorce trend, Dr. Lindsay says "Since the adjustive patterns are evident, an expectation that the rate of divorce should decrease is not unwarranted and seems to be supported by isolated evidence." In December 1943, the present writer and Miss Henrietta Bowne predicted that during demobili-

zation after World War II, the divorce rate would reach a peak of between one-third and one-half of the marriages in the average of the previous ten years. That prediction was based on data terminating in 1940, when the rate was 21.3 divorces per hundred such marriages.<sup>5</sup> In 1945, the rate jumped to 31.5 and in 1946, it reached its peak of 40.6, thus precisely filling the prediction based on the data of six years previous.

The prediction was based upon a demonstration that three factors have almost entirely determined the divorce rate in recent decades—first, an accelerating trend; second, the rise of divorces in times of prosperity and their decline in times of depression; and third, the upsurge of divorces after wars. In a subsequent paper it was shown that the accelerating trend is logistic in character, but that there is no statistical indication of deceleration during the next fifty years or so. Sample data published by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in March, 1948, suggest that the divorce rate probably dropped about 25 per cent in 1947 as compared with 1946, but this would give a rate around 30.0 whereas the logistic trends value for 1947 was 23.4. Up to the present therefore, the statistical evidence contradicts Dr. Lindsay's expectation.

As to the trend of life expectancy, Dr. Lindsay says that the rise above 60 years in the United States "certainly has no bearing upon the remainder of the world." In 1944, data were published showing that expectation of life in 13 leading Euro-American countries had been following a logistic curve for over fifty years, and that that curve had risen above sixty years before 1940.<sup>6</sup>

In his discussion of the trends of projectiles, and of explosive power, Dr. Lindsay brushes aside any thought of menace. Yet the following facts seem pertinent. During World War I, bombing raids killed approximately 2.5 persons per 100,000 population in Great Britain and Germany, whereas, during World War II, bombing raids in those countries killed 287.5 persons per 100,000. This 110-fold increase is demonstrably the result of accelerating progress in the technology of destruction, of which range, ex-

<sup>4</sup>"Divorce, Depression and War," by Hornell Hart and Henrietta Bowne, *Social Forces*, XXII (1943), 191-194.

<sup>5</sup>"Expectation of Life as an Index of Social Progress," by Hornell Hart and Hilda Hertz, *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 609-621.

<sup>6</sup>*Sociology*, by William F. Ogburn and Meyer R. Nimkoff, 1940, p. 869.

plosive power, tonnage of bombs dropped, speed, automatic aiming devices, and the like, are detailed indexes. Let us suppose that the V-bombs launched against England by the Germans had carried atomic explosives: what would the death rate per 100,000 have been then? The V-bombs of the next war presumably will carry atomic explosives—or something more deadly.

HORNELL HART

Duke University

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

**Occupied Germany.** A Conference on "The Social Sciences in German Universities" was held at Seeshaupt in Bavaria, March 15-18, 1948. German scholars and allied occupation officials participated. Seven fields of study were covered: public administration, law, political science and current history, economics, sociology and anthropology, social psychology, and social work.

**Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie.** This quarterly journal is recommending publication after eight years. This year the *Chronique du Mouvement scientifique* will cover the social science production since 1940. The subscription price to Americans is 450 Belgian francs per year. Subscriptions should be sent to Office de Publicité, Rue Neuve, 36, Bruxelles.

**The Carnegie Corporation.** Charles Dollard has been elected president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Vice-President of the Corporation since March 1947, he succeeds Devereux C. Josephs who recently resigned to become president of the New York Life Insurance Company.

The Carnegie Corporation has announced the following grants:

\$30,000, payable over three years, to the University of Chicago for a study of psychological and sociological problems of later maturity. The grant will enable the University to continue exploratory studies in this field under the direction of professors Ernest W. Burgess, Robert J. Havighurst and Herbert Goldhamer.

\$60,000, payable over three years, to the University of Chicago for development of teaching materials for use by labor unions. The preparation and printing of materials will be carried on by the Industrial Relations Center in cooperation with various national unions.

\$30,000, payable over three years, to the University of Wisconsin for studies of the law in action. These funds will provide stipends for two research fellows who will work with senior members of the law faculty in studying the impact of particular laws on the daily lives of Wisconsin citizens. Resulting data will be incorporated in teaching materials used in the Law School.

\$150,000, payable over a period of five years

toward support of an Institute of European Studies at Columbia University. The Institute will develop a graduate-level program of teaching and research, drawing upon all of the departments in the social sciences and the humanities which are in a position to contribute to an understanding of Western Europe.

\$19,000 to Columbia University for a study of the problems involved in using social science data and techniques in the solution of government and industrial problems. Dr. Robert Merton of the Bureau of Applied Social Research will conduct intensive interviews with social scientists, government officials and industrialists to determine the most common problems in the relatively new field of applied social science. The resulting report is expected to be available in about eighteen months.

**Psychodramatic Institute.** The Third National Conference of the Institute will be held September 4-6, 1948 at Beacon, N.Y. The theme of the Conference is "Training in Human Relations." A day each will be devoted to psychodrama, sociodrama, and sociometry and group psychotherapy.

**Eastern Sociological Society.** The eighteenth annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society was held at Asbury Park on April 24th and 25th.

The first session was devoted to papers on research projects under the chairmanship of John W. Riley, Jr. of Rutgers University.

At the session on Social Aspects of International Relations, papers were given by Forrest Linder of the Statistical Office of the United Nations Douglas W. Oberdorfer, Division of Statistical Standards, U. S. Bureau of the Budget, and Conrad Taeuber, Division of Economics and Statistics, FAO.

The session on Problems of Sociological Personnel was addressed by Elbridge Sibley, Social Science Research Council; Bryce Ryan, Rutgers University, and Robert K. Merton of Columbia University.

The guest speaker at the annual dinner was Ralph Bunche, Director, Trusteeship Department of United Nations.

The officers elected for the year 1948 were President, Thorsten Sellin of the University of Pennsylvania; Vice-President, Meyer F. Nimkoff of Bucknell University; Executive Committee, Seth Russell of Pennsylvania State College; Secretary-Treasurer, Bernhard J. Stern of Columbia University.

**Midwest Sociological Society** held its annual meeting, April 29, 30 and May 1, 1948 at Minneapolis. The program, arranged by President Lloyd V. Ballard of Beloit College and Vice-President Harold W. Saunders of the State University of Iowa, covered a wide range of sociological subjects. A special feature of the conference was a section consisting of three meetings devoted to a preliminary evaluation of materials to be presented to the National Conference on Family Life held subse-

quently in Washington. The featured speaker at the annual luncheon was Professor Kimball Young of Northwestern University.

A very successful meeting of the Midwest Student Sociological Association was carried out under the direction of Professors Harold Ennis of Cornell College and Clarence Johanson of the University of Minnesota.

The officers for 1948-49 are: President, Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College; First Vice-President, George B. Vold, University of Minnesota; Second Vice-President, Harold W. Saunders, State University of Iowa; Secretary-Treasurer, Donald O. Cowgill, Municipal University of Wichita; and Representative on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society, James M. Reinhardt, University of Nebraska.

Other members of the Executive Committee of the Midwest Sociological Society are: J. E. Hulett, Jr., University of Illinois; Hugh W. Ghormley, Iowa State College; Randall C. Hill, Kansas State College; Clifford Kirkpatrick, University of Minnesota; R. C. Minor, Lincoln University; Joyce O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska; A. L. Lincoln, University of North Dakota; Richard Seaman, University of South Dakota; and William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin.

*Pacific Sociological Society* held its annual meeting at Santa Barbara, California, on April 30 and May 1. There were seventy-five members in attendance. Papers were read at five sessions. The officers for the coming year are as follows: President, Harvey J. Locke, University of Southern California; Vice-President, Northern Division, Glen A. Bakkum, Oregon State College; Vice-President, Central Division, Carlo Lastrucci, San Francisco State College; Vice-President, Southern Division, Gwynne Nettler, University of California, Santa Barbara College; Representative to the American Sociological Society, Norman Hayner, University of Washington; Editor of the *Proceedings*, Wallis Beasey, Washington State College; Newly Elected Members of the Advisory Council, George Lundberg, University of Washington, and C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia; Leonard Bloom, University of California, Los Angeles, continues as Secretary-Treasurer.

*Bard College.* Dr. Gerard DeGré of the Sociology and Anthropology Faculty has been elected Chairman of the Division of Social Studies.

Miss Ruth Gillard, Assistant Professor of Sociology, is collaborating with Mr. George Rosen of the Economics Faculty in offering a new Joint Seminar in Technology and Social Change. It is hoped that this seminar will initiate a series of joint seminars not only on an interdepartmental basis but on an interdivisional basis as well.

*Cornell University.* Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.,

formerly Chairman of the Sociology Department, has been appointed Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

*Temple University.* Dr. John Stewart Burgess has resigned as Chairman of the Department and Dr. Negley K. Teeters has been appointed Chairman. Dr. Burgess will remain on in the department as Professor and will teach his favorite courses in race relations and modern social movements.

Dr. Frank S. Loescher, director of the American Friends Service Committee's Race Relations Placement Project, will join the sociology department at the beginning of the Fall term, 1948. He holds his doctor's degree in Sociology from the University of Pennsylvania.

*University of Delaware.* An Institute of Delaware History and Culture has been established at the University of Delaware for the purpose of stimulating, coordinating and supporting historical, sociological, anthropological, and humanistic studies in the field of Delaware history and culture. Frederick B. Parker, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, is serving as secretary of the Institute.

Dr. Frank H. Sommer has been appointed as instructor in Sociology. Dr. Sommer was awarded the Ph.D. degree in Anthropology by Yale University and during 1947-1948 continued his study of archeology at Cambridge University as a Henry Fellow. He will establish a program of anthropology courses in the department.

Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild and Professor Robert S. Lynd visited the University as speakers during May.

*University of Michigan.* Dr. G. E. Swanson has accepted a position as instructor in Sociology. He will offer courses in the general area of collective behavior, social movements and mass communications. Dr. Swanson took his degree at the University of Chicago with a thesis on Emotional Disturbance and Juvenile Delinquency.

Dr. Ronald Freedman, instructor in this department, has received the Colver Rosenberger prize from the University of Chicago for his thesis, "Recent Migration to Chicago."

*University of Mississippi.* During the summer of 1948 the Department of Sociology will have as visitors to its staff Dr. J. L. Charlton of the University of Arkansas and Mrs. Betsy Castleberry of Louisiana State University.

Recent publications of members of the Department have been: Vernon Davies: *Housing for Mississippians*, Sociological Study Series Number One, Bureau of Public Administration, University, Mississippi. Vernon Davies and John C. Belcher: *Mississippi Life Tables, by Sex, Race and Residence, 1940*, Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care, Jackson, Mississippi. Vernon Davies: *Demographic*



*Factors Related to Health Needs in Mississippi.* Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care, Jackson, Mississippi.

*Universidad de Puerto Rico.* Professor Clarence Senior has resigned as director of the Social Science Research Center to become associate director of the Puerto Rican Migration Study at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.

Mr. Simon Rottenberg has been appointed acting director of the Center.

*University of Wisconsin.* At a meeting of the Wisconsin Service Association on March 30, 1948, Professor Emeritus John Gillin was given an award for his 53 years of "wise and sympathetic study and effort in behalf of prisons, probation and parole."

## BOOK REVIEWS



✓ *The Reconstruction of Humanity.* By PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1948. xii, 247 pp. \$3.00.

✓ *Civilization on Trial.* By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948. vii, 263 pp. \$3.50.

When the reviewer was beginning his studies of sociology he was struck by the complaint of Professor Giddings and other stalwart exponents of the scientific method in sociology that one of the main difficulties in this relatively new branch of social science lay in the fact that so many sociologists had formerly been preachers of the gospel or theologically trained and carried their religious and hortatory attitudes over into sociology. Today, the trend seems to be reversed, and many sociologists are now becoming preachers, even though they may not speak from a formal pulpit. This later turn has been even more unfortunate, for the sociologist-preachers of a half-century ago—the Smalls, Hayes, Hendersons, Stuckenberg, Earps, *et al.* made a sincere and usually successful effort to acquire some grasp of social science. Today our sociologists turned preachers seem bent on repudiating the social science of which they were once masters.

The two books here reviewed are conspicuous examples of the second trend. Sorokin gave evidence of an encyclopedic knowledge of scientific theories of society in his work on *Contemporary Sociological Theories*. Toynbee proved himself a first-rate political historian of both ancient and modern Greece and the Near East. Both authors have in their major works shown a remarkable command of the facts of social and cultural evolution. But, in their more recent books, both now plead with man to forsake the world, the flesh, and the Devil and find salvation and solace in a flight into mystical religion.

There is nothing especially new in either book. Both represent a second stage or degree of distillation, simplification, and popularization, in which the hortatory element has gained at the expense of the descriptive and analytical. Sorokin had already popularized the "message" of his *Social and Cultural Dynamics* in *The Crisis of Our Age*, and both books are further con-

densed and pointed up in *The Reconstruction of Humanity*. Somervell had prepared a one-volume epitome of the six volumes of Toynbee's *A Study of History*, and *Civilization on Trial* adds little that is new in fact or theory. It is chiefly devoted to emphasizing the dogma that the only hope of Western Civilization lies in the recognition of the crucial importance of The Incarnation and in our ability to accept the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth.

Sorokin's volume is the better integrated of the two. Whatever one thinks of the author's ideas, the book proceeds logically from an examination and rejection of all secular programs for peace, prosperity, and liberty to the exposition of Sorokin's program of salvation through a flight into Neoplatonic and Christian mysticism. Toynbee's volume is a collection of essays and lectures, but he arrives at the same fundamental conclusion as does Sorokin, namely, that the only hope of mankind resides in the acceptance of the Christian Epic, especially the Anglican version thereof. Both authors stress war as a major cause of the destruction of humanity in the past, but they seem innocent of the fact that wars were especially numerous and bloody when Neoplatonic and Christian mysticism held full sway over the mind of man.

The keystone of the arch in Sorokin's work is his well-known dualism of the idealistic and the sensate cultures. In the former, spiritual elements are dominant; in the latter, man falls prey to material interests and achievements, empirical science, and hedonistic ethics. In his *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Sorokin had held that mankind is doomed to endless fluctuations between idealistic and sensate eras, with possible intervening ideational periods, when a workable compromise develops between the idealistic and the sensate patterns. The book under review offers a program for assuring the permanent triumph of the idealistic phase. Mankind must be rescued from the vile morass of empirical science and hedonistic ethics and be made to recognize that every man "is an incarnation of the conscious mind and superconscious essence of the Infinite Manifold, God." The relative values and norms which social science has shown to be everywhere manifest among humanity must be replaced by

absolute, fundamental, and uniform values and norms which are universally valid and unconditionally binding upon everyone at all times and in all places. To achieve this, we cannot rely upon secular human wisdom, but must tap the unlimited power and inspiration which lies in superconscious energy and mystical union with the Godhead.

All the more notable secular political, economic, ethical, religious, and aesthetic programs are reviewed by Sorokin—democracy, liberalism, the United Nations, world government, capitalism, collectivism of all varieties, social ethics, socialized humanistic religion, social education, psychotherapy, aesthetics, and the like—and all are rejected as inadequate because they are tainted and infected with the sensate virus. Only altruism will suffice to give permanent ascendancy to the idealistic pattern of life and thought, but this is no secular altruism based upon the motive of improving human well-being. Only the leadership of God and the exploitation of superconscious energy, which communion with God can make available, will suffice to turn the trick. The greatest release of superconscious energy comes in periods of personal and social crisis. Here Sorokin gets close to Toynbee's famous doctrine of "withdrawal and return" in the time of troubles, as a result of which creative leaders become etherialized.

The vision of Lester F. Ward, who forecast a time when man would turn for guidance to a National Academy of Social Science, is rejected as a mere sensate foible. We cannot hope for guidance from secular social science, but must, like St. Francis, kiss a leper and be transfigured, or achieve the same result through grave illness or some deep personal shock. "Only if God saves humanity from the well-intentioned instigators of bloody revolutions and wars has mankind any chance of overcoming its difficulties and of enjoying at least a modicum of international and domestic peace."

The first four chapters of Toynbee's book summarize his theory of the historic experience of mankind, which the reviewer outlined and criticized in the August, 1947, issue of the *American Sociological Review*. War and Class are emphasized as the two main causes of the calamities which have befallen mankind in the past. The problem of the unification of mankind is then considered and the main hope placed in religion. Just how, for example, the current rumpus between Jews and Arabs will contribute to the political unification of the race is not

made clear. In the future study of history, political and economic history must be relegated to a subordinate position and religious history given primacy in the efforts of historians. "For religion, after all, is the serious business of the human race" (p. 94).

Toynbee then considers the plight of civilization which is now on the rim of the abyss, due to atom bombs and other malevolent products of our mechanical civilization. But Toynbee finds a ray of hope, even though Western Civilization may be extinguished in a third and fourth world war. The Negrito Pygmies of Central Africa may survive the atomic warfare, and they "are said by our anthropologists to have an unexpectedly pure and lofty conception of the nature of God and of God's relation to mankind," even though they are not as yet of the Anglican persuasion. Moreover, even if the Negritoes fall prey to the atom bomb or bacterial warfare, civilization may be restored by the winged insects, which have been in existence for 250 million years, as compared to a mere million during which man has been on the earth. Presumably they will in time catch the vision of The Incarnation which man has thus far been unable to grasp sufficiently to produce the millennium.

Next come two chapters which are a welcome digression and deal with Russia's Byzantine heritage and the relations of Islam and the West. In these chapters there is also some consideration of former world conquerors who aspired to planetary dominion. Toynbee's talents as a historian are more conspicuous in these chapters than in any of the others in the book and amply repay careful reading.

In the final chapters, Toynbee sets forth his conception of Christianity as providing the only hope of setting up the Kingdom of God on earth, achieving peace, and saving Western Civilization. But Toynbee, the historian, fails to recur to history to check his program. Christianity has enjoyed ascendancy in the Western world for nearly 1900 years, and during this period we have moved steadily ahead to the final phase in atomic warfare. Nor has Anglican faith been able to check either war or class. Anglicanism has been dominant in England since 1530, but during this period, as Quincy Wright showed in his vast *A Study of War* (Vol. I, p. 221), England has participated in more wars than any other modern nation. Yet Toynbee sticks doggedly to his thesis that only in a mystical Christianity is there any hope for the human future:

The opportunity for obtaining salvation in this world would be open to every soul, since every soul always and everywhere has within its reach the possibility of knowing and loving God. The actual—and momentous—effect of a cumulative increase in the means of Grace at man's disposal in this world would make it possible for human souls, while still in this world, to come to know God better and come to love Him more nearly in His own way.

On such a view, this world would not be a spiritual exercise ground beyond the pale of the Kingdom of God; it would be a province of the Kingdom—one province only, and not the most important one, yet one which had the same absolute value as the rest, and therefore one in which spiritual action could, and would, be fully significant and worth while; the one thing of manifest and abiding value in a world in which all other things are vanity.

This last book of Toynbee thus gives added confirmation to the essential soundness of Joseph Hergesheimer's epitaph on Toynbee's historical work: "Toynbee buries the universe in an Anglican churchyard."

These two books, in the light of the vogue of the authors and the encomiums showered upon their books even by distinguished college presidents, illustrate the sad state into which much of contemporary Anglo-American social science has fallen. The publishers tell us that Sorokin is the "most widely translated sociologist in the world." Granville Hicks assures us that "So far as the American reading public is concerned, Arnold Toynbee has become one of the oracles of the modern world." And Clifton Fadiman asserts that: "I believe that of all the books published so far in this century, the one most assured of being read a hundred years from now is *A Study of History*"—which may well be true if the Negritoes are the sole survivors in that period.

No sensible sociologist would deny the important social role of a religion which squares with the elementary facts of history and social science—such a religion as has been advocated by Hobhouse, Ellwood, Henderson, Peabody, Harry Ward, Walter Rauschenbusch, Shailer Mathews, and the like. But, of such ideas as are here expounded by Sorokin and Toynbee, one can only fairly observe that the Neo-Medicine Man seems to be coming into his own. And, currently, it is paying off remarkably well in book royalties and in the prestige of the authors among nervous and apprehensive pseudo-intellectuals.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, New York

*Insights into Labor Issues.* Edited by RICHARD A. LESTER and JOSEPH SHISTER. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. 368 pp. \$4.00.

This is a good book. It is a symposium, and neither by its title nor by its editors' introduction does it claim to give a systematic exposition of wage theory, union organization, and collective bargaining. Yet many of the standard criticisms of works pasted together—for example, that they are uneven in quality and style—do not apply in marked degree to this joint effort.

Because this is a book by and presumably for economists, it seems appropriate to indicate by a partial summary of the contents the degree to which the study of labor is proceeding along lines of joint interest to economists and sociologists. The seven papers in Part I are devoted to aspects of "Labor Relations," and the six chapters in Part II discuss characteristics of "Wages and the Labor Market." By way of rough generalization, Part I may be said to be more nearly sociological both in type of problems treated and in the kinds of circumstances taken into account. The papers in Part II are more explicitly "economic" in that the analytical constructs of economic theory form the framework for empirical data and summaries. Paradoxically, sociologists working with labor and industrial research are more likely to be impressed with the second group of papers, since the qualifications of the economists to deal with the data of organization and collective relations are not self-evident, and the performance in these papers bespeaks a regrettable insulation from the kind of analytical models that sociologists have developed for dealing with these materials.

The difference in these two parts of the book is curiously revealed in the titles of chapters. In Part II, where the relevance of current empirical data for established theory is very much to the point, the chapters carry such titles as "Results and Implications of Some Recent Wage Studies," by Richard A. Lester; "The Meaning of Recent Wage Changes," by David A. Roberts; "Some Aspects of Labor Market Structure," by Lloyd G. Reynolds. On the other hand, the titles in Part I are more pretentious; for example, "Toward a Theory of Labor-Management Relations," by Frederick H. Harbison, Robert K. Burns, and Robert Dubin; "Union-Management Cooperation: An Analysis," by Joseph Shister; "New Patterns of Collective Bargaining," by Everett M. Kassalow; "The Development of Labor Organization: A Theoretical Framework," by John T. Dunlop. Now actually there is very



little genuine theory, analysis, or pattern developed in these papers. They contain interesting "insights" and materials that sociologists may find of great use. One looks in vain, however, for an adequate understanding of the institutional structure of society as something more than a residual category, or of the organizational implications of new forms of collective relations, or of the relation between industrial and union organization on the one hand, and the attitudes and life-organization of the worker, on the other.

If it be permitted to point a moral, the industrial sociologist had better not assume that the economists have nothing to say about the structure of industry and labor relations. The polemical position that dismisses the economist as operating within the confines of classical dogma is untenable. On the other hand, if the economist wants to operate where there is no economic theory, he would be well advised not to conclude that there is therefore *no* theory save as he haltingly attempts to construct it.

For the sake of the record, a final point needs to be made clear. This is one of the most provocative and useful books that the reviewer has yet encountered in the labor field.

WILBERT E. MOORE

Princeton University

*Labor Problems in Southeast Asia.* By VIRGINIA THOMPSON. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947. 283 pp. \$4.00.

Virginia Thompson's *Labor Problems in Southeast Asia* is part of a long-term study undertaken by the Institute of Pacific Relations. The aim of this section of the study is to examine the adequacy and regularity of labor supply and the extent of labor organization in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China, and Siam.

Southeast Asia is mainly agricultural. Hence the supply of labor "to meet the requirements of large-scale enterprise" has depended upon the state of agriculture. "Only during the slack agricultural season or after a disastrous harvest" are the farmers willing to perform labor for others. Consequently no adequate body of wage-labor has ever developed in Southeast Asia. While the exact situation varies a great deal from one country to the other, the short labor supply has led to the importation of labor from China, India, and the more densely populated areas of Indonesia.

The absence of a group of professional wage-workers has made labor organization, in the

European sense of that term, difficult or impossible. Consequently, "an organized labor movement has never developed in Southeast Asia to notable dimensions."

Workers in Southeast Asia who have ventured into the field of wage-labor have done much of their work for foreign enterprisers. Between 1941 and 1945, many of them were drafted by the Japanese for road building and similar projects connected with the war. The treatment accorded by the Japanese to their conscript labor varied widely with the local political situation, but during the Japanese occupation, and especially in the period following the defeat of Japan, "labor movements throughout Southeast Asia have made significant advances in organization, solidarity, and political self-consciousness."

The author was limited in her work by the scarcity of data, and by the disturbances attending military operations. Her book makes a good beginning in a little studied and little known field.

Readers who are interested in background material will find the Preface, written by Wilfred Benson, Director of the Division of Non-Self-Governing Territories of the United Nations Secretariat, one of the most noteworthy portions of the book. Mr. Benson begins his Preface with this sentence: "Imperialism, in the form of the government of weaker peoples by the peoples of the West, was an element in the explosion which rent an explosive world economy." In Southeast Asia, as elsewhere, the tide has turned. The fall of Singapore marked the end of an epoch in colonialism. Both technical and political factors "make impossible a return to pre-1942 conditions and assure the determined resistance of Southeast Asia to any reimposition of former colonial rule." The withdrawal of the Western empires from Asia is the beginning, not the end, of the transformation that is now taking place. "Poverty, unbalanced economic development, ill-health, ignorance, labor difficulties and the exploitation of the weak by the strong, which were problems during the period of European control, will not be abolished by the abolition of such control. . . . A social revolution was taking place during the colonial period and will spread if the expanding population is to live. In Southeast Asia, as in the rest of the world, this will involve an exodus from the country to the town and to a certain extent, from agriculture to industry." From both a local and a world point of view, Mr. Benson concludes, it is essential that South-

east Asia should get onto its own political and economic feet.

Jamaica, Vt.

SCOTT NEARING

*Readings in Social Psychology.* By THEODORE M. NEWCOMB and EUGENE L. HARTLEY. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947. 672 pp. \$3.85.

The book under review is the final fruit borne of the recommendations of the Committee on the Teaching of Social Psychology of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The Society, acutely aware of the paucity of current literature in empirical social psychology readily available for classroom purposes, particularly in overcrowded colleges with meagre library resources, initiated the efforts which culminated in this volume. The Society and compilers Newcomb and Hartley deserve commendation for bringing together within one book the very best in modern empirical social psychology.

The collection of over eighty selections has been arranged into sixteen topical sections covering, with minor exceptions, every phase of social psychology. The amount and comprehensiveness of the labor which must have been involved in the compilation are self-evident in the product. The selections presented have been culled from thirty-six separate books and monographs and fifteen different periodicals; in addition, a dozen hitherto unpublished studies are offered in print for the first time.

In selecting the readings which comprise this source book, the editors were governed by definite recommendations of the Committee under whom they worked, namely, that the articles selected (1) be representative of research in social psychology, (2) be representative of the research methods in vogue in the field, (3) highlight the interdisciplinary nature of the science, and (4) give proper attention to the more recent developments. The editors have amply met each one of these prescriptions.

The number of articles included, the variety of sources from which they were drawn, and the wide array of subjects covered, insure their representativeness. The inclusiveness of the volume is further guaranteed by the fact that almost one hundred names of workers in social psychology and related fields appear in the table of contents. The book conveys a well-rounded picture of the multiplicity of research techniques employed by students in the field. The emphasis of the contents is definitely methodo-

logical. Thus, sixty of the total number of selections are first-hand reports of original researches; the two dozen exceptions are attempts to synthesize into principles the significant researches of others. The lengthier sources have been expertly cut so that descriptions of research methods remain detailed and clear. In sixteen instances this has been achieved by the novel device of having the original authors themselves abridge their own articles. The volume demonstrates the dependence of social psychology upon allied disciplines. In addition to the orthodox sociological and psychological literature, the fields of ethnology, education, clinical psychology, industrial relations, and psychiatry have been tapped for relevant selections. Finally, the recency of the materials leaves nothing to be desired. Over half of the total articles bear original publication dates of 1940 and thereafter, while only one out of every eight saw print before 1935.

The obvious readiness of the editors not to confine themselves to the basic research conducted in universities and appearing in the orthodox social psychological sources, but to scour the applied fields for relevant selections is most gratifying. In this connection it is interesting to note that several of the articles included in the readings allude to the significant fact that the behavior of some groups in our culture, such as working-class, farm, and certain minority groups, are not too well understood because of their lesser accessibility to the customary researcher in social psychology. It seems to us that the consequence of this unintentional selectiveness in current social psychological research must be that our body of theory about associational behavior will be true only for given subcultures in our society and will not possess the universality we often impute to it. An analogous comment is in order apropos of research conducted in a university set-up, because for the most part both university researchers and their subjects come from the middle-class culture and because the campus setting offers for study only a limited number of situations from the array possible in the larger culture. Hence, persons working in the therapeutic fields of psychiatry, group work, social case work, child guidance and clinical psychology, and in the applied fields of industrial, personnel, public opinion, and communication research have much to offer by way of small but significant findings in rounding out our understanding of the complexities of human association. The budding student of social psychology should be made acquainted with the latter; a

thing the book under review aims to do.

In their Introduction the editors state that Kimball Young's "Source Book For Social Psychology," which did much to define the field of social psychology twenty years ago, is no longer representative of the present-day science; hence the need for this more modern compilation. After reading through the Newcomb-Hartley work, the reviewer re-examined Young's pioneering volume. The contrast between the two books is striking and fills one with confidence in the future of the science. Social psychology has indeed come of age. Both books include sections on prejudice, leadership, public opinion, propaganda, imitation, and suggestion. A comparison of the contents of the corresponding sections in the two volumes highlights the enormous strides that have been made in less than two decades. The diffuse, philosophical, highly generalized rumination upon a problem which drew together bits of evidence from literature, history, philosophy, folklore and autobiography for illumination, that characterized so much of social psychology a generation ago, has finally given way to meticulous, rigid, empirical, often experimental, investigation upon small segments of the problem. That the shift has spelled progress for the science is amply proved by the fact that social psychologists are now employed in industry, agriculture, commerce, government, communications, labor unions, and the armed forces to unravel vital problems peculiar to these areas. The book under review reports a number of researches stemming from the latter fields; Young's book contained none such. The classroom use of the Newcomb-Hartley source book is therefore bound to have a salutary effect on the mental orientation of students now undergoing training in social psychology.

The editors state that they have deliberately omitted the introductory comments between sections and between selections. The intent is to permit the classroom teacher to supply the connective tissue and thereby adapt the materials to his own needs. However, we missed the connecting commentary. The latter play a valuable rôle in placing the research studies in their appropriate theoretical frame and in furnishing additional details about author, research setting, significance of the problem and value of the findings, which the report itself usually does not contain but which can be very helpful to neophytes to the field. However, our sentiments in this regard might very well be the result of previous habituation.

A few of the selections are perhaps misclassi-

fied among the sections, while several articles might be considered as somewhat too advanced for, and hence of questionable value to, their prospective readers, virtually all of whom will be entirely new to social psychology. However, these are minute detractions from a work which otherwise is laden with virtues. The volume is extremely interesting and readable; there isn't a dull selection in the lot. Some of the articles are fascinating, some are brilliant, while several are even chuckle-provoking; all are instructive and a few are destined to become classics. Students and teachers alike will welcome this volume by Newcomb and Hartley.

ERNEST GREENWOOD

*Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles*

✓ *Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure.* By GARDNER MURPHY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. xii, 999 pp. \$7.50 Trade Edition, \$5.00 Text Edition.

The publication of Gardner Murphy's book on personality will probably be hailed as an outstanding, perhaps even an epoch-making, event in the history of contemporary psychology. Murphy's scholarship has a really wide and discriminating basis. His style in many ways is the most fluent in the field since William James, and his knowledge is truly catholic. Before advancing some adverse criticism which I feel that I must make, let it be said that this is a piece of fine scholarship in the very best academic tradition. The best academic tradition, however, has weaknesses as well as strengths. Despite the fact that Murphy does deal with the critical problems of Marxian sociology and Freudian psychology and their interrelationships, one gains the impression that Murphy feels that the type of scholarship practiced here will, of necessity, gradually go on to solve the basic problems of personality in the bio-social field. In times of crisis this represents, if anything, an all-too-leisurely approach.

The book presents a rather comprehensive treatment of all that we have learned about the concept "personality" and its genesis. It attempts to deal with the results of the measurement of individual personality traits only insofar as these pertain to the more central interests. Murphy is concerned "with the thing that marks off a personality from all other objects, such as a tree, or a triangle. From this vantage point one tries to discover the nature of personality in general, as he might try to discover the nature of trees in general." Consequently, the book is largely methodological in its treatment, and

attempts to define and see the implications of the fact that there is some gestalt, or configuration, or field of arrangement of individual traits which gives the individual his uniqueness, or individuality. His final conclusion is that the field theoretical definition of personality is the one which most adequately describes the facts and is the most pregnant with implications for further research. With this methodological conclusion I heartily agree. In calling the book methodological in its general approach I do not mean to imply that there is not a wealth of factual material here. Packed into this 999 page volume are references to 962 individual studies from the fields of individual psychology, sociology, psychoanalysis, anthropology, and even economics and political science. Thus the book has a bold sweep. It attempts to be not only an essay on orientation, but a reference work as well.

Within the limits of a brief review one cannot even abstract the subject matter and findings of this work. Nearly every scholar in several fields will want to read it. All I can do in a few lines is to describe the organization of the book. The book falls into six parts, called successively: *Organic Foundations*, in which what we would have previously thought of as the hereditary aspects of personality are described; *Learning*, in which the modification of these organic factors, through experience, is discussed; *The Personal Outlook*, which discusses the uniqueness of perception and thought in terms of the concept of personality; *The Self*, which develops the concept of the self in terms of general psychology and the various psychoanalytic schools; *Wholeness*, which is concerned largely with the problem of the uniqueness of personality structure and the methods for studying it; and finally, *Individual and Group*, which is concerned with the subject matter of social psychology. Actually, as one can readily see, Murphy has written more of a general treatise on the whole subject matter of psychology from the organismic viewpoint than a mere dissertation on personality. In this, as we shall see, lies both the book's strength and a certain weakness.

In any book of this nature the problem of what to include and what to exclude is a difficult one. My estimation of what makes Murphy's book fall somewhat short of being a really great book is the fact that it attempts to be too inclusive of detailed material to be a readable, original, methodological contribution, and at the same time it is not inclusive enough to function as an actual handbook. If I may be per-

sonal, as a busy clinician I certainly would not have read through these 999 pages, page by page, had I not been called upon to review the book. At the same time I do feel that I got a great deal from the main methodological argument. I feel that it was a mistake in a book at this level to include the detailed material on genetics, conditioning, learning, the psychoanalytic mechanisms, projective methods, and economic determinism. Certainly no book, even of this stature, can really introduce this much material for the purposes of general instruction of the advanced student. For the professional scholar to have to wade through it again, even if there are excellent insights and criticisms, is just plain boring. And with all its richness of reference material, a great many advanced treatments of the field-theoretical approach to the problem of personality are neglected. If I may again be personal, I was piqued and surprised to find no reference to any of my books and papers on this subject matter. This particularly so, because to the best of my knowledge I was the first individual to write rather extensively in English on the gestalt and field-theoretical implications for social psychology.

In final evaluation, this is a good book, and one which will find much use, but for a variety of reasons falls short of its own level of aspiration. It is obvious that Murphy had in mind a really big contribution. Although the book is carefully planned, beautifully written, and well executed, I have the feeling that it will be found somewhat below the level of the research scholar, and somewhat above the level of the advanced undergraduate student. This is not to be taken to mean that Murphy is in any way arrogant or cocksure about the matureness of the science of personality, or the originality of his own contribution to it. The final chapter, entitled "The Skeptical Psychologist" is a beautifully written warning about the dangers of being too readily content. I even believe that Murphy is perhaps unduly modest here.

Harper and Brothers made a beautiful job of book manufacture. The type is good and readable, and the page make-up is excellent. Murphy has also added further editorial innovations which make the book useful. There are practically no footnotes, but through a special treatment of references all of the work referred to in the text can be easily chased down. There is a good bibliography, name index, and a useful glossary and subject index.

Los Angeles

J. F. BROWN

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*The Sociology of Child Development.* By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. x + 790 pp. \$4.50.

The child first became an object of concern to the modern world, and to sociologists, as a social welfare problem. Specialized, scientific study of the "normal" child did not begin until the rise of behaviorism around 1912. Sociologists were late in getting into the field, but between 1925 and 1930 Thomas and others adapted the "situational approach," as first defined by the psychologists and psychiatrists, to the requirements of the social environment. Since this time, with a few exceptions, sociological contributions to child development have been limited to textbook chapters and occasional papers.

Bossard's *Sociology of Child Development* represents a distinctive and comprehensive addition to this specialized literature. The book falls into three main divisions: an introduction in which the author's point of view is stated; five Parts (21 chapters) devoted to child behavior in various situations; and a final Part of six chapters dealing with the "changing status of childhood" as a population element in the world today. The entire work is concerned mainly with normal social adjustments, but includes some reference to social pathology, particularly in Part V ("Some Problem Families"), and in chapters 23 and 27, dealing respectively with the effects of war and the history of the child welfare movement. Thus in accordance with the author's premise, programs for children with special needs are viewed in their proper setting.

The author's major contribution lies in his detailed sociological analysis of the social situations conditioning the growth of the child. Situations are studied objectively and in the light of much original data, in terms of *structure*, *process*, and *cultural content*, or meaning. Family situations which are of paramount importance in determining the personality of the child are discussed first (Part II). Starting with a description of family patterns, the author then analyzes interaction between parents, between children and parents, and between siblings. Finally, the meaning of family culture for the child is investigated in its dual aspects: that concerned with his induction into the particular family, and that resulting from his introduction, through this immediate family, to the larger culture of which it is a part. One distinctive contribution in this connection is Bossard's evaluation of what the child has to give to his parents.

In Part III ("Facets of Family Life"), the author attempts successfully to describe the

actual mechanisms involved in family interaction and in the process of introducing the child to the "accumulated modes of living and thinking which constitute the cultural system in which he lives" (p. 161). He does this by the use of some interesting original data compiled by the William T. Carter Foundation of the University of Pennsylvania, of which he is director. These include verbatim reports of "family table talk," case record material on bilingual children and on the influence of guests in the home, and data based on biography and "interactive interviews" reflecting the significance of the rôle of family servants. The importance of class structure and of certain pathological family situations constitute the subject matter of Parts IV and V. In part VI the process of "growing out of the family" is investigated, and the significance of larger social settings in the growth of the child is described. The book concludes with a stimulating discussion of certain controversial questions associated with the "rights of childhood" viewed against the background of the child welfare movement.

*The Sociology of Childhood* is a big book, as texts go, containing approximately 800 pages. It is logically and simply written with excellent chapter summaries and introductory sections which should endear it to the student public. Typographical errors are few. It should find an important place in sociology, child development, and pre-social work curricula.

ERNEST B. HARPER

Michigan State College

*Social Problems on the Home Front.* By FRANCIS E. MERRILL. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. x + 258 pp. \$3.50.

This volume is one in a series of studies sponsored by the Social Science Research Council to assess the impact of World War II upon American society. Its main theme is the effect of that war in the field of social disorganization. An excellent introductory chapter on "War and Social Change," after analyzing the nature of social problems, projects the central hypothesis that World War II intensified, but did not substantially modify, the social problems of a peacetime society. This hypothesis is then examined in the light of various aspects of wartime behavior, with separate chapters devoted to the effects of the war upon the family, childhood, adolescence, sex offenses, prostitution, delinquency, crime and personal disorganization. In these chapters Professor Merrill does an excellent job in assembling the available material

in these respective fields.

In the concluding chapter, the author returns to his original hypothesis (would that many writers could follow this example), to examine its validity in the light of the evidence presented. Some twenty conclusions are cited in support of this thesis, that war makes for the acceleration of existing social problems. Included are these: the rate of social change was increased; corresponding changes in the adaptive culture lagged farther behind than ever before; the rate of social mobility was intensified; the gradual decline in the traditional functions of the family was accelerated; many of the tensions which lead to the peacetime disorganization of the family were increased; the long-term trend toward a higher divorce rate was accelerated; the emotional deprivation of children, due to the employment of mothers, was increased; the trend toward increased sexual freedom was intensified by the wartime decline in the mores; illegitimate births increased, though not so fast as legitimate ones; juvenile delinquency, crimes against the person, first admissions to mental hospitals, all increased.

But many problems which are substantially new, or which represent considerable modifications of old ones, were revealed by the material gathered. These include: (a) the high morale resulting from the clear and present danger to national symbols; (b) the increase in prejudice; (c) the high level of employment, made possible by the demands for manpower and war production; (d) the large-scale and prolonged separation of millions of families, unique in extent and duration; (e) the sense of participation in the adolescent generation, including their increased employment, thus reversing a secular trend toward the progressive abolition of child labor; (f) the decrease in promiscuity for hire, because of the more efficient social control thereof; and, (g) the conflicting trends in venereal disease, with syphilis decreasing and gonorrhea increasing among the civilian population. As a result, the author modifies his original hypothesis (another practice none too prevalent) to conclude: "World War II had a differential effect upon social problems, intensifying some, alleviating others, and creating still others in a society made more dynamic by the pressures of total war" (p. 235).

This is a well written and well organized volume which should serve admirably as a postscript to books and courses in the general field of social disorganization; it should serve equally well as a jumping off place for more comprehensive study of the effects of total war upon

a highly individualistic people. In such a study, sociologists should play a definitive part.

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

*Yale University*

*The Comics.* By COULTON WAUGH. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 360 pp. \$5.00.

Perhaps four out of five Americans over six years of age read regularly what are called "comics." Many follow these cartoon continuities more consistently and with more apparent attention and interest than they give to anything else in the paper section of their environment.

These materials appear in some 50 of our 52 million daily papers and in "comic supplements" to 44 of our 45.2 million Sunday newspapers. Those who need no "news" to disguise their flights from reality purchase 40 million "comic books" a month. When one multiplies circulation by a conservative estimate of average probable readership, the audience outruns even that of the motion pictures.

Presumably sociologists are aware of this garish and feeble substitute for the myths and sagas of the past, but only a few have given it any serious study. This is possibly because the comics are called a "social problem," and respectable sociologists must avoid anything so-called except through the desiccating medium of an I.B.M. machine.

Waugh is not a sociologist but a cartoonist ("Dickie Dare" and "Hank"), now returned to painting, and the historical survey he presents of the comics tends to be artistically appreciative and critical and to neglect the psychic and social probings sociologists would wish. But he performs a useful service in bringing together a representative impression of the main currents in comic strip development and of their current character. The beginnings, from "The Yellow Kid," "Buster Brown," "The Katzenjammer Kids," and the rest, have been recounted many times, but it is useful to have an accomplished cartoonist give a detailed report and analysis of the comics' half century of history.

Few would object to Waugh's enthusiasm for "Krazy Kat" and "Mr. O'Malley," and many would join him in his punch-pulling attacks on masked marvels and on the horrific comic books. But it is high time that a more adequate and less polite study be made of this tremendously powerful instrumentality, with an adequate grasp of its relationships to the daily newspaper industry, feature syndicates, pressure groups, and to our increasingly rigid orthodox ideology. In view of the realities of the situation, few social scientists would agree with Waugh that our

comic books are likely to "help to bind a broken world together." Typical of Waugh's equivocal analysis is his characterization of the comics' history as "a gay reflection of the people's history" and then his hasty qualification by adding,

An important reservation must be made, however, before we credit comic strips with too great veracity as faithful mirrors of social events. By their presentation, because they are put out by large and powerful groups, which generally have the corporation point of view, certain very vital social aspects of our day are taboo; hence the picture presented by the comics is, in some ways, a distorted one. For example, hundreds of thousands of American families' lives center around trade unions, but we will rarely find the word "union" appearing in the strips. It belongs to that group of ideas called "controversial," and generally ruled out by the syndicates. The same thing is true of religious interests and occupations, and politics.

Here of course are really significant points, albeit not adequately stated. The comics are not "a gay reflection of the people's history." They are more or less consciously used as instruments of societal manipulation and domination. Those who control the comics are far from being fully aware of or even very curious about what they are doing to society, but they follow policy paths set by class mores which they have confidence will (1) make money for them and (2) contribute somehow to social "stability," i.e. to the "free enterprise system."

Generally speaking, the comics are in a stage of controversy rather than of careful study. Experts pro and con fight about them, but the industry is too new and too closely related to the powerful daily newspaper industry to have reached the stage of subsidizing basic research upon which to develop a constructive program. Waugh opens up the field very well with his careful investigation of the files. Let us hope that an equally energetic and intelligent sociologist will follow with a socially more penetrating study.

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

Wayne University

*The Reduction of Intergroup Tension: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial and Religious Group Relations.* By ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, Jr. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947. 153 pp. (Bulletin 57). \$1.75.

Intergroup tensions on ethnic, social, and religious lines are one of the most serious threats against the democratic development of this country. They can be, and they are, used to prevent political unification on issues of general

national importance. For submerged minority groups, these tensions are good reasons for the desire of changing social patterns which make use of these tensions, or at least take them for granted.

There seems to be no disagreement among the people active in the field of developing better intergroup relations, that most of the methods used up to some years ago did not prove to be successful, or at least match the efforts. Meetings exhorting good will, appeals to democratic or Christian principles, approaches under the slogan "Let us forget the differences," or the hush-hush philosophy based on the idea "Let us not speak about the existence of these tensions," certainly did not solve the problems; it is even questionable whether they diminished them.

For a few years now, research has stepped very actively into this field. From different points of view, interested personalities, groups and organizations have helped in the development of departments undertaking especially, or even exclusively, research on problems of ethnic, racial, and religious group relations. The challenge of doing research in this field has become widely spread. Research agencies connected with universities, foundations, and organizations interested in this special field have developed all over the country.

Within the Social Science Research Council a special committee on the techniques for reducing group hostility came into existence. At the suggestion of this committee, Professor Robin M. Williams, Jr., of Cornell University, prepared a report, published in book form. This report is "focused on the relations among racial, ethnic and religious groups in the United States. In this report the author examines the more important techniques and procedures in use by representative action agencies which are seeking to reduce hostility and resolve conflict in inter-racial and inter-cultural group relations. He then analyzes the basic assumption underlying the action program and proposed research designed to test these assumptions. In connection with these proposals, research which has relevance for these problems is discussed with a view to pointing out important gaps in our knowledge. A section of the report is devoted to a presentation of major theorems and working hypotheses which bear on the problem of social conflict and which pose significant research problems. Finally, a representative series of desirable research problems are proposed."

It seems to this reviewer that there are two different ways of approaching a problem of

such social indication as intergroup tension. One is to try a "solution" in going around the problem, taking its extensive for granted, when a direct approach to it is not recommendable. The other requests first a clear and complete analysis of the problem before taking a decision of action either dealing with the roots of the problem or with consequences which are recognized as undesirable.

Certainly no either/or position to either of these two ways can be taken. A doctor may have to help the patient in overcoming pain before deciding on surgery, but his anti-pain measures would be of no great importance when not accompanied or followed by treatment of the pain-provoking causes. Although touching the question (pp. 5, 9, 48, 58, 85, 107), Professor Williams is cautious not to become too involved in a discussion about, or a suggestion of research to find out, the inter-relationship between a social order and specific social patterns. It seems to be a pre-condition, at least for meaningful action research to have the question answered as to whether certain undesirable social patterns are an integral part of our social order or whether they are only necessary up to

the time when they are replaced by other patterns more acceptable within the frame of our social philosophy. To find out the function of these social patterns in the framework of the social order may be sufficient to indicate patterns of less undesirable quality. These new patterns could be introduced to fulfill the same function.

Professor Williams' careful survey should serve as a challenge to all social scientists in all fields of the social sciences, to consider research on the question of the function of specific social patterns. Such a study might be too broad for any one single research agency, but there are enough research agencies equipped and ready to cooperate in a scientific approach to a problem of such profound social importance. Professor Williams' report brings to the forefront the very need for research which would help in finding the basic denominators of the problem of intergroup tensions on the American scene. Cooperative research should be done with the intention of changing wherever anti-democratic practices are found. There can be no better way to serve the democratic process.

MAX WOLFF

*American Jewish Congress*

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